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Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation: Evaluating the Language Policy Frameworks of Sub-state Governments in Wales and Scotland

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Abstract:	Efforts by European sub-state governments to revitalize minority languages are increasingly common. This paper investigates whether these revitalization efforts have considered the implications of contemporary social change, by utilising content analysis methods to analyse policy documents in two cases, Wales and Scotland. In concluding that engagement with social change is limited, the paper highlights the challenge faced by language revitalization policy in ensuring awareness of the nature of globalisation and associated social change. More broadly, it demonstrates that language policy can be conceived and analysed as public policy, and highlights opportunities for further research in this area by policy scholars.
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Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation: Evaluating the Language Policy Frameworks of Sub-state Governments in Wales and Scotland

1. Introduction: Language Policy as a Form of Public Policy

In the field of sociolinguistics, language policy is understood as a diffuse mechanism that guides language use patterns in different social contexts (Johnson, 2011). On these terms, language policy can encompass any deliberate effort to influence linguistic behaviours, general social attitudes regarding different languages as well as longstanding patterns of linguistic interaction (Spolsky, 2004, 5). However, as Grin (2003, 30) argues, language policy can also be conceived in a more limited sense: as a particular form of *public policy*. This more specific notion is the focus of this article.

When viewed as a form of public policy, language policy can be understood as any intervention by government (state, regional or local) aimed at influencing the nature of a society's linguistic environment, and thus steer the language practices of individuals. The exact objective of the intervention can vary (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997); it can also take different forms, often encompassing a mixture of regulatory, distributive and constituent measures (Lowi, 1972). Language policy can be viewed as a distinct policy sector to 'be approached in the same way as health, transport or energy policy' (Grin, 2003, 38). However, as with environmental policy (McCormick, 2001), it is also important to acknowledge its cross-cutting nature, as pursuing language policy objectives usually involves interventions that overlap with other fields, such as education, immigration and employment.

Recently, a series of trends, including immigration, sub-state nationalism and cultural globalisation, have underlined the extent that linguistic diversity characterises most modern societies. These circumstances have increased awareness of the political, economic and cultural significance of the language policy decisions taken by governments. However, as demonstrated by Sonntag and Cardinal (2015), despite its growing political salience, there is a surprising lack of research by scholars working in the field of political science that seeks to study language policy as a distinct field. Indeed, political scientists specialising in the sub-disciplines of policy analysis have

largely ignored the issue of language policy (notable exceptions include Grin, 2003; Cole and Harguindéguy, 2013).¹

A body of literature focusing on language policy has been produced in the broad field of sociolinguistics. Much of this work has focused on describing the consequences of different language policies (e.g. Fishman 1991; Schiffman, 1996) and on assessing how language policy choices promote social changes, such as greater/lesser equality or greater/lesser discrimination (e.g. Tollefson 1991, May, 2001). Nevertheless, this literature has not drawn systematically on insights and methods from public policy analysis in order to examine different language policy interventions. As Ricento (2006: 18) argues: 'what has not been much discussed is the practice of language planning, that is the development, implementation, and evaluation of specific language policies.'

This article responds to this gap in the academic literature by seeking to integrate language policy analysis into the sphere of contemporary political science research. It engages in a detailed comparative analysis of a particular approach to language policy: efforts to revitalise the prospects of minority languages. Language revitalisation efforts are increasingly common in different contexts across the world, for example: indigenous languages in a number of developing countries (e.g. King, 2001; Hajek, 2002); indigenous languages within certain developed countries (Hobson *et al*, 2010; Coronel-Molina and McCarty, 2016); and regional or minority languages within various sub-state nations (e.g. Strubell and Boix-Fuster 2011; Urla, 2015; Morris 2010; McLeod, 2001). These revitalisation efforts are often led by language communities themselves (Hinton, 2011). However, in an increasing number of cases, particularly across Europe, sub-state governments play a leading role in the process (Williams, 2013).

Significantly, the language revitalisation policy programmes of European sub-state governments have been developed against a backdrop of radical social change. The turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first century is widely regarded as a period of 'fundamental social transformation perhaps unmatched since industrialization' (Putnam and Goss, 2002, 14). Societies are now increasingly individualistic, diverse and mobile;

their economies increasingly interconnected; and their governance structures are increasingly complex. Furthermore, many of the factors traditionally emphasised as key determinants of a language's level of vitality - the family, the local community, the economy and the state - relate to areas of life that have been impacted by these patterns of social change. Consequently, as it is widely acknowledged that instances of linguistic change are closely associated with instances of macro social change (King, 2001: 14), one would expect contemporary language revitalisation policy programmes to pay attention to the implications of major changes in how people live their lives and interact with each other. This article aims to examine this issue further. It draws on interpretive content analysis methods in order to examine whether discussion of the implications of different forms of contemporary social change represent a salient feature of the policy programmes guiding the revitalisation efforts of European sub-state governments. In exploring this issue, the article addresses two hypotheses. First: the factors emphasised in policy programmes as determinants of linguistic vitality will reflect the factors identified in the academic literature on language revitalisation. Second: if the evidence supports the first hypothesis, the policy programmes will also be expected to include reflection on the linguistic implications of many of the major social changes witnessed across Western societies. The aim, therefore, is to engage in a close analysis of language policy content. This article will not seek to reflect on the broader issue of how policy impacts on patterns of language acquisition and use.

In terms of structure, the article is organised as follows. First, it outlines the factors considered central to language revitalisation efforts and establishes the overlap between these factors and the major social changes being observed across Western societies. The article then outlines the research methodology utilised to assess the engagement with such changes in the policy programmes of two cases: Wales and Scotland. The findings from this evaluation are then discussed in relation to the hypotheses. The article concludes by assessing the significance of these findings for language revitalisation efforts and their broader implications for language planning and policy analysis. It argues that while the policy documentation demonstrates an understanding of language shift and language revitalisation, there is only limited engagement with the implications of key social changes. Overall, the article makes two

key contributions. First, on the basis of the empirical evidence presented, it highlights the challenge of integrating reflection on the implications of macro social change into language policy development. More broadly, on the basis of employing interpretive content analysis methods, the article highlights the value of adopting a distinctive political science approach to the analysis of language policy.

2. Language revitalisation

As Nettle and Romaine (2000, 32) observe, 'some degree of bi- or multilingualism is present to some degree in practically every country in the world.' However, patterns of linguistic diversity are not fixed. People can learn new languages and adopt new patterns of language use. Over time, this can lead to 'language shift', a process of 'downward language movement' that involves 'a reduction in the number of speakers of a language, a decreasing saturation of language speakers in the population, a loss in language proficiency, or a decreasing use of that language in different domains' (Baker, 2011, 72). Language revitalisation can be viewed as a form of language policy that seeks to halt and reverse this shift. This, it is claimed, will occur when policy interventions successfully address a range of factors that influence a language's level of 'vitality' (UNESCO, 2003).

Amongst the most prominent factors listed by sociolinguists as key determinants of linguistic vitality are: *demographic factors* relating to the numbers that speak a language, their distribution throughout the population and across generations; *sociolinguistic factors* associated with language use in a range of social domains, such as the family home, education system, workplace and the media; *political-institutional factors* pertaining to the level of recognition and support accorded to the language by government and by other prominent public and private institutions; *economic factors* relating to the professional status and the material wealth of language speakers; *psychological factors* implicated in the attitudes of different individuals and communities towards the language and the status or prestige attributed to it; and finally, *linguistic factors* relating to the condition of the language itself, in particular, its degree of standardisation, graphitisation and modernisation (see, for example, Fishman, 1991;

UNESCO, 2003; Tsunoda, 2005; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Hornberger 2010; Hinton, 2011).

The factors viewed as underpinning linguistic vitality have led to consistent argument that societal language change should be viewed as primarily a sociological rather than a linguistic process (King, 2001). As a result, language revitalisation efforts should be aware to important changes to the social, economic and political context in which they occur - 'one cannot maintain a language by dealing with language alone' (Edwards, 2007, 104). Consequently, the next section outlines key features of the fast-changing social context characterising life in most Western societies today and that provides a backdrop to contemporary language revitalisation efforts: socio-demographic, economic and political trends.

3. Social transformation

3.1 Socio-demographic transformation

The socio-demographic profile of Western societies is increasingly diverse, mobile and individualistic. We are witnessing changes, not only in terms of *who* make up the population of such societies, but also in terms of *where* these people live and *how* they interact with each other. First, demographic trends have led to shifts in the population composition of most Western societies. For example, in this 'age of migration' (Castles and Miller, 2003) populations have become more multi-ethnic and multi-cultural due to the increased prevalence of international migration (Vertovec, 2007). Also evolving rapidly is the age structure of Western societies as the numbers of older people within the population continues to grow (Champion, 2005, 109), due to people living longer and also due to 'well-below-replacement' rates of fertility. This latter change is linked to the overhaul in traditional family structures and household patterns, and also to increasing feminisation of the labour market (Castells, 2010, xxii). Such developments, in turn, have implications for patterns of early socialisation among children (Giddens, 2003, 63).

These demographic changes have coincided with developments in the spatial organisation of societies. First, in many European countries, the general trend of

counter-urbanisation, observed during the 1970s and early 1980s, has reverted to one of urbanisation (Mitchell, 2004). Second, this trend has been particularly pronounced among younger age groups, leading to increasingly polarised rural-urban population profiles (Woods, 2005, 78-83). Furthermore, these spatial changes, combined with technological advances, have led to fundamental changes in how people interact with each other. An increase in personal mobility, related to wider car ownership and better infrastructure, means that lives span ever-wider geographic areas. This, in turn, has had consequences for how people engage with a range of core services and has contributed to service-rationalisation around urban centres (Bowler, 2005, 241-2). Mobility and technology have also prompted changes to the nature of civil society. Overall, the trend is one of declining engagement in civic life and in informal, localised social interaction, and towards thinner, more formal, and more individualistic forms of engagement (Putnam, 2002). At the same time, the spread of information communication technology (ICT) has prompted the development of novel forms of social interaction in which geographic location is less of a determining factor (Castells, 2010, xxix).

Given their effects on several of the factors traditionally emphasised as determinants of linguistic vitality, each of these changes holds significance for minority languages revitalisation.. Therefore, one would expect to see reflection on the implications of such changes to feature when designing contemporary language revitalisation efforts. For example, given the traditional emphasis on the family as the key social domain for intergenerational transmission of a language (Fishman, 1991; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Baker, 2011), one would expect reflection on the implications of changes in how families organise domestic affairs and care for children. Similarly, given the stress on the need to maintain territorial areas with a high density of language speakers (Tsunoda, 2005), one would expect some reflection on the implications of contemporary migration and the associated rise in ethnic diversity. Finally, given the importance attributed to informal, local (and often rural), neighbourhood networks in promoting stable patterns of language use (Baker, 2011; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Fishman, 1991; Nettle and Romaine, 2000), one would expect to see some reflection on the implications of trends such as urbanisation, suburbanisation and changes in patterns of social interaction linked to mobility and ICT.

3.2 Economic transformation

Underpinning the socio-demographic trends discussed above is a set of economic transformations. First, recent decades have witnessed changes in the structure of Western economies away from traditional arrangements, based on industrial production, towards information and knowledge underpinning economic activity (Giddens, 2003, 54). As a result, employment is increasingly dominated by professional, administrative and managerial occupations and economic activity ceases to be focused primarily on the 'physical production and distribution of material goods' (Giddens, 2003, 378).

These structural changes are tied to the wider process of economic globalisation that has stimulated a shift from distinct national economies towards an increasingly interconnected and interdependent global economy. Transnational corporations are considered as one of the main drivers of this change through their promotion of globalised production chains. Additionally, technological advancement has stimulated the move towards greater economic interdependence. Much of the infrastructure on which the globalised economy now depends for its day-to-day operation centres on the various developments in ICT witnessed over recent decades (Castells, 2003).

These economic shifts also hold significance for language revitalisation efforts. Discussions often emphasise the need for minority languages to possess a measure of economic value, for example through their use in certain contexts as a language of work (Baker, 2011; Spolsky, 2004, 215). On this basis, one would expect the implications of current economic changes to feature when designing contemporary language revitalisation efforts. For example, consideration could be given to whether the challenge of ensuring an economic foothold for minority languages has been made easier or more difficult.

3.3 Political transformation

No less significant are the far-reaching political changes associated with 'state transformation' (Sørensen, 2004), which has given rise to debates regarding the future of the state as the central locus for political activity. In this context, the emergence of 'new governance' is seen as significant. It is claimed that socio-economic regulation and

coordination is no longer based on hierarchical state structures, but rather has broadened to encompass a range of complex networks. These include various appointed arms-length bodies, private corporations and civil society organisations (Rhodes, 1997). The implications for public policy are that ‘governments do not simply take decisions and then enforce them with state power’, but now spend time ‘negotiating with other organizations, non-governmental and governmental, in order to knit together agreed courses of action’ (Colebatch, 2004, 78). In addition, the traditional model of state authority has been transformed with the emergence of ‘multi-level governance’ and the diffusion of political power to other territorial levels – up to supranational and international bodies and down to sub-state regional and national units (Schakel *et al*, 2015).

Again, such political transformations are significant for minority language revitalisation. Discussions typically emphasise the nature of ‘the government’s language policy’ (Tsunoda, 2005, 54), and the need for policies to promote and support the continued acquisition and use of the target language (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Spolsky, 2004). Yet, given this, one would expect language revitalisation policy programmes to reflect on the relevance of the emerging ‘new governance’ and to consider the extent to which modern state structures still possess the capacity to act as the central locus of successful language revitalisation efforts.

4. Research context and methodology

The remainder of this article explores the two research hypotheses outlined in the introduction that were derived from a review of the literatures discussed in the preceding sections. First, we posit that the factors emphasised in the literature on language revitalisation as determinants of linguistic vitality will also be evident in the language revitalisation policy programmes of European sub-state governments. We therefore expect to see the factors outlined in section two - demographic, sociolinguistic, political-institutional, socio-economic, psychological and linguistic - featuring in the documentation. Secondly, if the policy programmes refer, as expected, to these determinants of linguistic vitality, we posit that they will also include discussion of the implications of some of the major social, economic and political

changes discussed in section three. As established, many of the factors traditionally viewed as contributing to a language community's level of vitality are directly affected by current changes in how people live their lives. This, compounded by the acknowledged link between language shift and instances of macro social change, creates the expectation that the implications of such changes will influence how sub-state governments design their language revitalisation efforts.

The two hypotheses are examined by focusing in detail on the language revitalisation policy programmes of two UK case studies: Welsh in Wales and Gaelic in Scotland. These cases have been selected on the basis of most similar systems design. At first glance, this may not appear a natural choice. Today, Welsh finds itself in a much more prosperous position than Gaelic: the 2011 UK census reported that Welsh is spoken by 562,00 individuals (aged 3 and over), 19% of Wales' population (Office of National Statistics, 2016), while the equivalent figure for Scottish Gaelic was 58,000 speakers, 1.1% of Scotland's population (National Records of Scotland, 2016). Also, in contrast to Welsh in Wales, the traditional view is that Gaelic has not been regarded as a particularly prominent feature of Scottish national identity (McLeod, 2001).² Furthermore, in terms of language revitalisation, the activist-led campaigns and public policy interventions seen since the 1960s have tended to be more prominent and far-reaching in the Welsh case.

Despite such differences, key factors justify studying Welsh and Gaelic together within a similar systems approach. Both are Celtic languages, and in each case language shift has occurred as the influence of English has increased. On the issue of national identity, recent evidence suggests that Gaelic is increasingly viewed as 'important to the heritage of the whole of Scotland' and treated as symbol of Scottish distinctiveness (Paterson *et al*, 2014: 446-7). Also, while revitalisation efforts since the 1960s have arguably been more prominent and far reaching in Wales, important developments for Gaelic took place during this period, particularly in the fields of education and broadcasting (Paterson *et al*, 2014: 430). Furthermore, importantly, in both cases the introduction of devolution in 1999 has led to a 'step-change' in efforts to promote the regional languages as activist-led efforts have been increasingly bolstered by proactive

policy intervention by sub-state governments. Indeed, despite differences in levels of constitutional autonomy, as devolved regions within the same state similarities in political culture have led to policy emulation and convergence. For example, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 established a statutory language planning agency, Bòrd na Gàidhlig, and created a framework for Scottish public bodies to create Gaelic language plans. Such arrangements were modelled on the infrastructure that existed in Wales prior to 2012 (Dunbar, 2007), when the Welsh Language Board operated with similar functions to the Scottish Bòrd, and administered a similar system of language plans across the public sector. In Wales, additional steps taken post-devolution include passing the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, which accorded the language official status for the first time (Williams, 2015).

A further important feature common to both cases is that the respective sub-state governments have published national language strategies that set key targets and define priority areas for intervention. In Scotland, the national plan for Gaelic, *Growth and Improvement*, was published in 2012 (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012), while in Wales *Iaith Pawb* appeared in 2003 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003), followed in 2012 by *A Living Language: A Language for Living* (Welsh Government, 2012). The Gaelic language strategy was prepared by Bòrd na Gàidhlig officials, as stipulated by the Gaelic Language Act 2005, while the two Welsh language strategies were prepared by Welsh Government civil servants, with significant input by staff from the Welsh Language Board. In both cases, these national strategies represent central planks in language revitalisation efforts. As medium term policy documents they provide an overarching framework for all other policy documents and initiatives relating to the promotion of Gaelic and Welsh. Consequently, they guide funding allocations and shape other policy actors and stakeholders' activities. Yet, the significance of the documents also stems from the process leading to their preparation. In each case, the final strategy was preceded by extensive public consultation that enabled legislatures, language policy communities and other stakeholders to influence their content.

Given their centrality, these three national language strategies were appropriate sources to assess whether language revitalisation policy programmes in Scotland and

Wales have given consideration to the implications of important forms of contemporary social change. In terms of methodology, the documents were examined using interpretive content analysis methods. Following Holsti (1969, 14), content analysis is understood as a technique for drawing inferences by 'systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.' Therefore, content analysis is not viewed as a technique solely concerned with (quantitative) analysis of 'manifest content'; rather it also allows for analysis of more 'latent content' – 'meanings that lie beneath the superficial indicators of content' (Bryman, 2012, 290). Consequently, content analysis is not limited to counting key words or phrases; it can also encompass identifying themes, ideas or dispositions within a text. This strong interpretative element made it an appropriate method for this study.

During the analysis, the three strategy documents were read closely in order to identify sections of text that included content relevant to the main concerns of the article: (i) content reflecting on factors that influence the language's level of vitality; and (ii) content demonstrating an awareness of the linguistic implications of different forms of contemporary social change. Identified sections were then divided into 'quasi-sentences' - individual sections of texts (i.e. parts of sentences) that are the verbal expression of a single theme or idea (Chaney, 2014). Dividing the text in this manner controlled for long sentences containing multiple relevant themes or arguments. For example, the following sentence contained references to various factors relevant to linguistic vitality;

‘Aim: increase in the use and visibility of the Welsh language in all aspects of everyday life, including *work, leisure* and *social activities*’ (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003, 11, emphasis added).

Subsequently, each quasi-sentence was classified using two deductive coding manuals that were developed based on an extensive review of the relevant literatures discussed in sections two and three: a first listing factors relevant to an assessment of language vitality and a second listing the main examples of contemporary social change (see Appendix A and B). Data gathered through the coding was logged for analysis on distinct coding schedules. In order to increase the reliability of the data, the coding was

undertaken separately by both authors, with divergent views on coding resolved by discussion. The final data set that emerged included 1,860 quasi-sentences: 1,762 referring to different linguistic vitality factors and 98 to instances of social change.

5. Analysis of findings

5.1 Determinants of linguistic vitality

Analysis of the data relevant to Hypothesis 1 demonstrates that the types of factors identified in the research literature on language revitalisation as key determinants of linguistic vitality were evident in the policy documentation. Numerous references are made to each type of vitality factor across the documents (Figure 1), with the most salient being political-institutional factors (36% of quasi sentences), followed by sociolinguistic factors (33%). References to socio-economic factors (3% of quasi-sentences) and linguistic factors (1%) were least salient. A broadly similar pattern emerges when the documents are compared on a country-by-country basis (Figure 2): political-institutional and sociolinguistic factors were the two most salient factors in each case (37% and 33% respectively in Wales; 34% and 35% respectively in Scotland), while linguistic and socio-economic factors were the least salient (0.5% and 5% respectively in Wales; 3% and 0% respectively in Scotland).

Please insert Figure 1 here.

Please insert Figure 2 here.

Further insight into the approach to language revitalisation in the two cases is gained by examining the data regarding different vitality factors. Analysis of the data regarding political-institutional factors illustrates which actors are posited as central to the task of implementing language revitalisation (Figure 3). In the Scottish case, the role of public sector bodies (65% of quasi-sentences) is emphasised far beyond that of any other actor:

The Bòrd will also take a lead in areas such as the preparation of national guidance on Gaelic Education (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 23).

In the Welsh case, the role of public sector bodies is also emphasised (38%), yet with a relatively similar level of emphasis on the role of regional government (33%):

The Assembly Government is committed to taking the lead in working to support and promote the Welsh language ... we will do all we can to create the right conditions in which the Welsh language can grow and flourish (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003: 2).

This difference can be explained, at least in part, by the different language policy structures within each case. As explained earlier, in Scotland the regional government has effectively sub-contracted the task of developing its language revitalisation strategy to Bòrd na Gàidhlig. In Wales, while a similar arms-length public body – the Welsh Language Board – was in existence until 2012, the Welsh Government has also played an active role in language policy development, evidenced by the strategy documents being written by civil servants. One would therefore expect the role of regional government to feature more prominently in the Welsh documentation.

Arguably more significant for the data on political-institutional factors is the tendency in both cases to prioritise the contribution of public/governmental institutions over non-official bodies, such as civil society and third sector organisations (5.2% and 7.3% respectively in the Welsh case; 7.2% and 3.9% respectively in the Scottish case). Such a tendency is to be expected to some extent in official documents, given that they have been authored by public officials. Nevertheless, the lack of recognition accorded to the potential contribution of non-official actors is striking. The ministerial foreword for each document emphasise the idea that language revitalisation needs to be viewed as general ‘national’ endeavours:

... individuals, communities and authorities all have key roles to play (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 5)

... the future development and survival of the language depends on the commitment of the people of Wales, and must be owned by all of us (Welsh Government, 2012, 2)

However, the data suggests that this vision does not extend throughout the documents, and indicates that more attention could be given to differentiating between those aspects

of language revitalisation that can and should be pursued by official bodies and those that are better placed in the hands of other social actors.

Please insert Figure 3 here.

The data relating to demographic factors (Figure 4) illustrates a difference in policy emphasis between the two cases, possibly stemming from differences in demolinguiistic context. In both cases, the age profile of speakers emerges as the most salient demographic factor (35% of quasi-sentences for Scotland, compared with 30% for Wales). Yet, the Scottish documentation places a greater emphasis on the absolute number of speakers (24% of relevant quasi-sentences, compared with 7% for Wales), with the Welsh documentation placing more stress on proportions of speakers (12% of relevant quasi-sentences, compared with 3% for Scotland):

Bòrd na Gàidhlig is clear that the focus ... must be on increasing the numbers of speakers of Gaelic (2012, 6).

The state of the language in communities where it was spoken by over 70% of the local population aged 3 years and over in 1991 is worthy of particular attention (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003, 5).

The contrasting emphasis reflects differences in the demolinguiistic situation of both languages. The weaker demolinguiistic position of Gaelic means that the size of its speaker-base as a proportion of the population is unlikely to be as relevant to the language's level of vitality as the absolute numbers of speakers. In contrast, the comparatively healthier demolinguiistic condition of the Welsh language means that combining references to the absolute numbers of speakers with references to those speakers as a proportion of the population may carry more weight when assessing its overall level of vitality.

Please insert Figure 4 here

Differences between the two cases are also illustrated by the sociolinguistic factors data (Figure 5). In both cases, education is viewed as the most important domain

for language use, though this is more pronounced in Scotland (41% of quasi-sentences, compared with 28% for Wales):

Gaelic language learning at all levels is vital for the future of Gaelic in Scotland. Both Gaelic-medium education and Gaelic-learner education have the potential to create new Gaelic speakers (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 22).

The education system is the main way for ensuring that children are able to develop their Welsh skills (Welsh Government 2012, 7).

Yet, the Welsh documents place a greater emphasis on language use within social or informal domains (10% of quasi-sentences, compared with 3% for Scotland) and on language use in online and digital media contexts (11% of relevant quasi-sentences, compared with 2% for Scotland):

The Assembly Government will work to ensure that we maximise the opportunities for our young people to use the language in everyday leisure and social situations (WAG, 2003, 48).

Over the next five years we want to see ... strong representation of the Welsh language throughout the digital media (Welsh Government, 2012, 14).

Such differences reflect the demolinguistic and sociolinguistic challenges faced in each case. In Scotland, the low speaker-base, coupled with the weak position of Gaelic as a family and community language, has led to prioritising efforts to address the paucity of opportunities to create 'new speakers' through the education system (O'Hanlon *et al*, 2012). In Wales, the increases in the numbers of Welsh-speakers among younger age cohorts reported in recent censuses (Jones, 2008) has led public and policy discussions to place a greater emphasis on the need to bridge out from the world of Welsh-medium education to promote greater social use of the language (Hodges *et al*, 2015).

Please insert Figure 5 here

In summary, the forgoing analysis supports Hypothesis 1 and demonstrates that the factors identified in policy documentation as determinants of linguistic vitality reflect the academic literature on language revitalisation. The analysis also illustrates a

tendency for some variation in emphasis owing to the particular political-institutional, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts of policy development. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the similarity in the emphasis and in the ordering of the general vitality factors (Figure 2), suggests a degree of convergence in language revitalisation approaches post-devolution. Decentralised government has boosted the political impetus to support both Gaelic and Welsh, thus creating a context in which legislative and policy initiatives are introduced to increase their status and institutionalisation.

5.2 Level of reflection on the implications of social transformation

The expectation stipulated in the Introduction was that if there was adequate support for Hypothesis 1, there would also be support for Hypothesis 2: evidence of recognition of the implications of social change for language revitalisation programmes. However, the analysis demonstrates limited reflection, both in the Welsh and Scottish documents, on the implications of the major social changes currently being witnessed across Western societies.

References relevant to the three general categories of change coded - socio-demographic, economic and political change - were found across the documents, though the distribution was heavily weighted towards the category of socio-demographic change (Figure 6). Furthermore, within this category, the sub-category of ‘increased use of information and communication technology (ICT)’ emerges, by some distance, as the most salient, (36% of relevant quasi-sentences; Figure 7). Engagement with other forms of change relevant to language revitalisation, such as ‘urbanisation’ (15%), ‘population movement’ (15%) and ‘the emergence of virtual social networks’ (12%), trail a long way behind, while engagement with themes such as ‘increase in formal/organised forms of social interaction’, ‘decline in informal forms of social interaction’ is very limited across the documentation.

Please insert Figure 6 and 7 here.

In order to compare the two cases and control for the overall analysis including two documents from Wales and only one from Scotland, the analysis focused on those

published in 2012. On this basis, the level of engagement with the implications of contemporary social change is far greater in the Welsh context (Table 1 and Figure 8). Out of a total of 58 relevant quasi-sentences, 43 derive from *A Living Language: A Language for Living* (Welsh Government, 2012), while only 15 derive from *Growth and Improvement* (Scottish Government, 2012). This difference can largely be explained by the level of engagement in the Welsh document with the sub-category of ‘increased use of ICT’ (16 of 43 quasi-sentences):

In the twenty-first century, the existence of Welsh-language digital media content and applications not only allows the Welsh language to flourish, but also enables Welsh speakers to participate fully as digital citizens (Welsh Government, 2012, 45).

In contrast, there are only sparse references to the same issue in the Scottish document (2 relevant quasi-sentences):

MG ALBA and BBC ALBA have a role to play in making Gaelic audible and visible to large sections of the population, in... ensuring the media supports Gaelic learning *and virtual communication via new technologies* (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 39 emphasis added)

The documents clearly present a positive view of the potential of ICT to support language revitalisation, despite the ways in which it could be viewed as exacerbating challenges faced by minority language communities, both owing to the speed of developments in certain sectors and the tendency for English to be viewed as the ‘de facto lingua franca of the online world.’ (Cunliffe, 2007, 138). The greater emphasis on ICT in the Welsh case may reflect the broader range of language promotion activities undertaken, in contrast to the more focused Scottish approach. This, in turn, can be explained by the growing recognition in the Welsh context that language revitalisation efforts call for a balance between educational measures and steps aimed at normalising language use in other domains, particularly in the social and leisure contexts of day-to-day life.

Please insert Table 1 and Figure 8 here.

In examining the Welsh documentation over time by comparing the documents published in 2003 and 2012, the greater engagement with ‘increased use of ICT’ compared to other forms of social change continues (Figure 9). Overall, beyond the case of ICT there is only limited engagement with the implications of different forms of social change. Strikingly, there is no clear pattern towards increased engagement with social change over time. Rather, with sub-categories such as ‘inward migration’, ‘outward migration’, ‘urbanisation’, there is a marked decrease in emphasis between 2003 and 2012. One possible explanation for the greater salience of these particular factors in the 2003 document is the highly charged nature of the language debate in Wales during the 2001-2003 period. It centred on the impact of inward migration to predominantly Welsh-speaking areas and the out-migration of young Welsh-speakers to urban areas, particularly Cardiff. The debate encompassed the main political parties as well as key language movements (Royles, 2007) and ensured that the implications of population movement were discussed in the 2003 strategy document. By 2012, while statistical evidence demonstrated that inward- and outward-migration continued to impact on the Welsh language (Jones, 2012), their profile as part of the language policy debate had receded, and consequently such issues were accorded less attention in the 2012 language strategy.

Please insert Figure 9 here.

Despite the overall perception created by the data that Welsh language strategies accord greater recognition to the implications of current social changes, in some specific instances the nature of the discussion in the Scottish document suggests a more detailed consideration of the implications of some of these changes for language revitalisation (Table 2). In particular, this relates to the level of reflection in the documents on the linguistic implications of changes witnessed in patterns of social interaction. Such changes were coded through sub-categories such as ‘increase in organised forms of social interaction’ and ‘emergence of virtual social networks’. Five quasi-sentences are recorded in each of these sub-categories in the Scottish document, for example:

The National Gaelic language Plan will deliver ... more opportunities for communities and *networks of Gaelic speakers* of all kinds' (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 8, emphasis added).

There were similar examples in the Welsh document:

More and more communication happens electronically and remotely, reducing the extent to which the concept of 'place' is key, and increasing the role of communities of interest (Welsh Government, 2012, 35).

However, the more wide-ranging attention afforded in the Scottish document indicates a stronger awareness of the more 'networked' model of social interaction and the implications of such trends for language policy. Whilst also displaying some recognition of these trends, the Welsh documents rely on a more static and territorially-based understanding of 'community'. It could be suggested that this exemplifies the challenge of balancing between emphasising the importance of traditional 'heartland' communities with recognition of the increasingly diverse range Welsh language community settings currently emerging, evidenced by the tension between the two following statements:

The decline of Welsh-speaking communities is a cause of concern for the Assembly Government ... a social and economic future for Welsh-speaking communities equates to a viable future for the Welsh language (2003, 21).

... it would be wrong to imply that the future of the Welsh language is an issue confined to four or five counties in the north and west. There are significant numbers of Welsh speakers in areas of Wales outside the "heartland" (2003, 4).

Please insert Table 2 here.

In summary, the data points to a mixed situation with regard to Hypothesis 2. The policy documentation includes some reflection on the potential linguistic implications of certain forms of contemporary social change. However, the vast majority of this reflection centres on the very specific sub-category of 'increased use of ICT'. Beyond this, the level of engagement with the implications of other forms of contemporary social changes is limited. Moreover, this conclusion holds when

comparing between different language policy settings, and also when comparing over time within the same setting.

Explaining this finding in detail is difficult at this stage. It is a surprising finding given the types of factors identified in the documents as influencing linguistic vitality, and given that many of these factors are impacted by current patterns of social change. On this basis, a greater level of reflection on how social change may influence how language revitalisation is to be pursued was expected. The finding is also significant as it points, on the one hand, to the challenge that language revitalisation policy faces in ensuring awareness of the nature of globalisation and associated macro social change, and on the other hand, to the possibility that such cognisance may currently be lacking. Furthermore, it raises the possibility that language policy may have been less successful than other, more established, public policy fields in integrating reflection on the implications of social change into policy development.

On this basis, further research is required. First, further examination of language revitalisation policy programmes in other locations such as Catalonia and the Basque Country could establish whether the findings identified here with regards to Wales and Scotland represent a broader trend. Second, further examination of the academic literature on language revitalisation would determine whether the weakness identified here within the policy documentation reflects a broader weakness which characterises the field more generally (see also Edwards, 2007). Third, an examination of how and to what extent policy makers in other fields of public policy engage with the implications of contemporary social change could better contextualise the weaknesses identified here with regards to language policy.

6. Conclusion

This article set out to address the disparity between the lack of political science research focusing on language policy as a distinct field of public policy, and the growing political salience of language policy decisions taken by governments. It has sought to promote a political science approach to analysing language policy, and has done so by drawing on interpretive content analysis methods in order to examine the main policy

documents guiding the language revitalisation efforts of sub-state governments in the UK.

The investigation established that in the Scottish and Welsh cases, the factors emphasised as being key determinants of linguistic vitality mirror many of the factors identified in the research literature on language revitalisation. The analysis also highlighted some variation in the emphasis placed on certain vitality factors, owing to the particular political-institutional, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts of policy development. Yet, despite these differences, the analysis pointed to a degree of convergence in language revitalisation approaches post-devolution.

Of greater importance is the fact that the investigation also established that in the case of these two UK cases, current policy programmes reflect only a limited level of engagement with the implications of different forms of contemporary social change. This is the case despite the fact that a number of these changes seem to impact on a series of assumptions that have traditionally shaped how the issue of language revitalisation is discussed. Indeed, this finding represents the article's main empirical contribution, as it highlights the challenge facing the field of language revitalisation in ensuring sophisticated cognisance of the nature of globalisation and related aspects of macro social change.

The article also points to some of the consequences that may stem from the tendency, to date, to not recognise language policy as a distinct area of public policy in its own right. Its broader significance therefore is to demonstrate that language policy can be both conceived and analysed as public policy and, in so doing, highlight the opportunities for further research in this area by public policy scholars.

Acknowledgement: The authors would like to acknowledge the helpful and constructive comments of three anonymous referees.

¹ Over the past decade scholars in the field of political theory have also discussed notions such as language rights, language equality and linguistic justice (for a recent overview see Léger and Lewis, 2016). Yet, this work focuses on the ethical implications of language policy choices and does not feature detailed examination of the politics surrounding those choices.

² In contrast to Gaelic, there is consensus that the Welsh language has, over the centuries, acted as an important marker of Welsh distinctiveness. Yet, it should be noted that relatively little is known today regarding the exact role of language compared to other important factors, such as religion, social class or location. Moreover, little is known about whether the significance of language has altered as Welsh distinctiveness has been given an increasing institutional expression, particularly through the evolution of devolution. This partly reflects the historic neglect of the study of politics in Wales. It is also indicative of the more general neglect of the study of national identities within political science in the UK (Scully, no date).

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Appendix A: Coding Manual: Linguistic Vitality

1: Demographic Factors:

- 101: Absolute numbers of speakers
- 102: Speakers of the language as proportion of population
- 103: Density of speakers
 - 103.1 Existence of areas of high density
 - 103.2 Existence of areas of low density
- 104: Age profile of speakers
- 105: Level of intergenerational language transmission
- 106: Fertility rate among speakers of the language
- 107: Levels of endogamy/exogamy
- 108: Levels of immigration
- 109: Levels of emigration
- 110: Level of literacy /fluency / confidence of language speakers
- 111: Production of ‘new speakers’
- 112: Other

2: Sociolinguistic Factors

- 201: General (i.e. generalized statements regarding society-wide levels of language use)
- 202: Family/home
- 203: The community
- 204: Social life/leisure time
- 205: Accessing services
- 206: Education: general
- 207: Education: early years/pre-school
- 208: Education: primary
- 209: Education: secondary
- 210: Education: post-16
- 211: Education: higher/university
- 212: Workplace
- 213: Traditional media (radio / television / newspapers)
- 214: Online and digital / social media
- 215: Publishing (books, journals, magazines etc.) and the arts
- 216: Other

3: Political-Institutional Factors

- 301: Government: state
- 302: Government: regional/sub-state
- 303: Government: local
- 304: Public sector bodies
- 305: Private sector bodies
- 306: Third sector bodies
- 307: Civil society organisations

308: Media organisations
309: International organisations (include EU)
310: General political/institutional support
311: Other

4: Socio-economic Factors

401: Economic status of the language's speakers (material wealth/professional status/employment opportunities/level of economic activity among speakers)
402: Employment opportunities in high-density language areas
403: Socio-cultural attractiveness of life in high-density language areas
404: Availability of affordable housing in high-density areas

5: Psychological Factors

501: General status (i.e. the language's overall status)
502: Official status (i.e. status in official settings)
503: Economic status (i.e. status in economic contexts)
504: Socio-cultural status (i.e. social attractiveness of the language - 'coolness'!!)
505: Symbolic status (i.e. the degree to which the language is tied to notions of national/ethnic identity)
506: Attitudes: general (speakers and non-speakers)
507: Attitudes towards the language among its speakers
508: Attitudes towards the language among other members of society
509: Other

6: Linguistic Factors

701: Level of graphitization (i.e. degree to which there is a writing system)
702: Level of standardization (i.e. degree to which there is norm that overrides regional and social dialects)
703: Level of modernization (i.e. extent of the language's lexicon - terminology)
704: Other

Appendix B: Coding Manual: Social Transformation

1: Socio-demographic changes

- 101: Increased ethnic diversity of population
- 102: Aging of population
- 103: Declining fertility rates
- 104: Increased diversity in family structures and household patterns (single person households, unmarried couples etc.)
- 105: New modes of early socialisation among children (increased role for grandparents, use of childcare services etc.)
- 106: Population movement
 - 106.1: *Interstate* immigration (immigration from other sovereign states)
 - 106.2: *Intrastate* immigration (immigration from other parts of the state to Wales/Scotland)
 - 106.3: Outward migration
- 107: Urbanization
- 108: Counter-urbanization
- 109: Increase in personal mobility
- 110: Restructuring/centralization of key services (e.g. closure/centralization of schools, banks, post offices etc.)
- 111: Change in the nature of social interaction
 - 111.1: Decline in informal/spontaneous forms of social interaction
 - 111.2: Increase in formal/organised forms of social interaction (communities of interest)
 - 111.3: Emergence of virtual networks
 - 111.4: Decline in significance of territory or 'place'
- 112: Technological development
 - 112.1: Better/easier modes of transport
 - 112.2: Development and increased use of information and communication technology (i.e. digital tools that allow two or more people to communicate with one another - written, verbal, visual or audible communication.)
- 113: Other

2: Economic changes

- 201: Development of interdependent global economy
 - 201.1: Decline in distinct national economies
 - 201.2: Growth in size/influence of private corporations
 - 201.3: Increased movement of capital/economic resources
- 202: Privatisation of service providers
- 203: De-regulation/liberalisation of markets
- 204: Changes in occupational structure
 - 204.1: Decline in agricultural sector (as form of manual employment)
 - 204.2: Decline of manufacturing sector (as form of manual employment)
 - 204.3: Growth of professional and service sectors (as forms of knowledge-based employment)

204.3: Emergence of digital economy
205: Feminization of the workforce
206: Rural economic decline - general
207: Other

3: Political changes

301: Transfer of political power up to international level
302: Devolution of political power down to sub-state level
303: Increased role for arms-length public bodies in policy development/delivery
304: Increased role for private sector in policy development/delivery
305: Increased role for third sector in policy development/delivery
306: Increased role for civil society in policy development/delivery
307: Contraction of public expenditure
308: Other

Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation: Evaluating the Language Policy Frameworks of Sub-state Governments in Wales and Scotland

1. Introduction: Language Policy as a Form of Public Policy

In the field of sociolinguistics, language policy is understood as a diffuse mechanism that guides language use patterns in different social contexts (Johnson, 2011). On these terms, language policy can encompass any deliberate effort to influence linguistic behaviours, general social attitudes regarding different languages as well as longstanding patterns of linguistic interaction (Spolsky, 2004, 5). However, as Grin (2003, 30) argues, language policy can also be conceived in a more limited sense: as a particular form of public policy. This more specific notion is the focus of this article.

When viewed as a form of public policy, language policy can be understood as any intervention by government (state, regional or local) aimed at influencing the nature of a society's linguistic environment, and thus steer the language practices of individuals. The exact objective of the intervention can vary (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997); it can also take different forms, often encompassing a mixture of regulatory, distributive and constituent measures (Lowi, 1972). Language policy can be viewed as a distinct policy sector to be approached in the same way as health, transport or energy policy' (Grin, 2003, 38). However, as with environmental policy (McCormick, 2001), it is also important to acknowledge its cross-cutting nature, as pursuing language policy objectives usually involves interventions that overlap with other fields, such as education, immigration and employment.

Recently, a series of trends, including immigration, sub-state nationalism and cultural globalisation, have underlined the extent that linguistic diversity characterises most modern societies. These circumstances have increased awareness of the political, economic and cultural significance of the language policy decisions taken by governments. However, as demonstrated by Sonntag and Cardinal (2015), despite its growing political salience, there is a surprising lack of research by scholars working in the field of political science that seeks to study language policy as a distinct field. Indeed, political scientists specialising in the sub-disciplines of policy analysis have

Deleted: This paperarticle makes two original contributions. First, it makes an empirical contribution by presenting evidence regarding the limited engagement with the implications of major social change evident in the policy documents guiding the language revitalisation efforts of European sub-state governments. Second, by gathering this evidence on the basis of interpretive content analysis methods the paperarticle also makes an important methodological contribution, as it promotes a distinctive political science approach to the analysis of language policy. (angen symud hwn) ¶

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largely ignored the issue of language policy (notable exceptions include Grin, 2003; Cole and Harguindéguy, 2013).¹

A body of literature focusing on language policy has been produced in the broad field of sociolinguistics. Much of this work has focused on describing the consequences of different language policies (e.g. Fishman 1991; Schiffman, 1996) and on assessing how language policy choices promote social changes, such as greater/lesser equality or greater/lesser discrimination (e.g. Tollefson 1991, May, 2001). Nevertheless, this literature has not drawn systematically on insights and methods from public policy analysis in order to examine different language policy interventions. As Ricento (2006: 18) argues: 'what has not been much discussed is the practice of language planning, that is the development, implementation, and evaluation of specific language policies.'

This article responds to this gap in the academic literature by seeking to integrate language policy analysis into the sphere of contemporary political science research. It engages in a detailed comparative analysis of a particular approach to language policy: efforts to revitalise the prospects of minority languages. Language revitalisation efforts are increasingly common in different contexts across the world, for example: indigenous languages in a number of developing countries (e.g. King, 2001; Hajek, 2002); indigenous languages within certain developed countries (Hobson *et al*, 2010; Coronel-Molina and McCarty, 2016); and regional or minority languages within various sub-state nations (e.g. Strubell and Boix-Fuster 2011; Urla, 2015; Morris 2010; McLeod, 2001). These revitalisation efforts are often led by language communities themselves (Hinton, 2011). However, in an increasing number of cases, particularly across Europe, sub-state governments play a leading role in the process (Williams, 2013).

Significantly, the language revitalisation policy programmes of European sub-state governments have been developed against a backdrop of radical social change. The turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first century is widely regarded as a period of 'fundamental social transformation perhaps unmatched since industrialization' (Putnam and Goss, 2002, 14). Societies are now increasingly individualistic, diverse and mobile;

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their economies, increasingly interconnected; and their governance structures are increasingly complex. Furthermore, many of the factors traditionally emphasised as key determinants of a language's level of vitality - the family, the local community, the economy and the state - relate to areas of life that have been impacted by these patterns of social change. Consequently, as it is widely acknowledged that instances of linguistic change are closely associated with instances of macro social change (King, 2001: 14), one would expect contemporary language revitalisation policy programmes to pay attention to the implications of major changes in how people live their lives and interact with each other. This article aims to examine this issue further. It draws on interpretive content analysis methods in order to examine whether discussion of the implications of different forms of contemporary social change represent a salient feature of the policy programmes guiding the revitalisation efforts of European sub-state governments. In exploring this issue, the article addresses two hypotheses. First: the factors emphasised in policy programmes as determinants of linguistic vitality will reflect the factors identified in the academic literature on language revitalisation. Second: if the evidence supports the first hypothesis, the policy programmes will also be expected to include reflection on the linguistic implications of many of the major social changes witnessed across Western societies. The aim, therefore, is to engage in a close analysis of language policy content. This article will not seek to reflect on the broader issue of how policy impacts on patterns of language acquisition and use.

In terms of structure, the article is organised as follows. First, it outlines the factors considered central to language revitalisation efforts and establishes the overlap between these factors and the major social changes being observed across Western societies. The article then outlines the research methodology utilised to assess the engagement with such changes in the policy programmes of two cases: Wales and Scotland. The findings from this evaluation are then discussed in relation to the hypotheses. The article concludes by assessing the significance of these findings for language revitalisation efforts and their broader implications for language planning and policy analysis. It argues that while the policy documentation demonstrates an understanding of language shift and language revitalisation, there is only limited engagement with the implications of key social changes. Overall, the article makes two

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key contributions. First, on the basis of the empirical evidence presented, it highlights the challenge of integrating reflection on the implications of macro social change into language policy development. More broadly, on the basis of employing interpretive content analysis methods, the article highlights the value of adopting a distinctive political science approach to the analysis of language policy.

2. Language revitalisation

As Nettle and Romaine (2000, 32) observe, 'some degree of bi- or multilingualism is present to some degree in practically every country in the world.' However, patterns of linguistic diversity are not fixed. People can learn new languages and adopt new patterns of language use. Over time, this can lead to 'language shift', a process of 'downward language movement' that involves 'a reduction in the number of speakers of a language, a decreasing saturation of language speakers in the population, a loss in language proficiency, or a decreasing use of that language in different domains' (Baker, 2011, 72). Language revitalisation can be viewed as a form of language policy that seeks to halt and reverse this shift. This, it is claimed, will occur when policy interventions successfully address a range of factors that influence a language's level of 'vitality' (UNESCO, 2003).

Amongst the most prominent factors listed by sociolinguists as key determinants of linguistic vitality are: *demographic factors* relating to the numbers that speak a language, their distribution throughout the population and across generations; *sociolinguistic factors* associated with language use in a range of social domains, such as the family home, education system, workplace and the media; *political-institutional factors* pertaining to the level of recognition and support accorded to the language by government, and by other prominent public and private institutions; *economic factors* relating to the professional status and the material wealth of language speakers; *psychological factors* implicated in the attitudes of different individuals and communities towards the language and the status or prestige attributed to it; and finally, *linguistic factors* relating to the condition of the language itself, in particular, its degree of standardisation, graphitisation and modernisation (see, for example, Fishman, 1991;

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¶ Overall, this article makes two original contributions. First, it makes an empirical contribution by presenting evidence regarding the limited engagement with the implications of major social change evident in the policy documents guiding the language revitalisation efforts of European sub-state governments. Second, by gathering this evidence on the basis of interpretive content analysis methods the article also makes an important methodological contribution, as it promotes a distinctive political science approach to the analysis of language policy. (angen symud hwn) ¶

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UNESCO, 2003; Tsunoda, 2005; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Hornberger 2010; Hinton, 2011).

The factors viewed as underpinning linguistic vitality have led to consistent argument that societal language change should be viewed as primarily a sociological rather than a linguistic process (King, 2001). As a result, language revitalisation efforts should be aware to important changes to the social, economic and political context in which they occur - 'one cannot maintain a language by dealing with language alone' (Edwards, 2007, 104). Consequently, the next section outlines key features of the fast-changing social context characterising life in most Western societies today, and that provides a backdrop to contemporary language revitalisation efforts: socio-demographic, economic and political trends.

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3. Social transformation

3.1 Socio-demographic transformation

The socio-demographic profile of Western societies is increasingly diverse, mobile and individualistic. We are witnessing changes, not only in terms of *who* make up the population of such societies, but also in terms of *where* these people live and *how* they interact with each other. First, demographic trends have led to shifts in the population composition of most Western societies. For example, in this 'age of migration' (Castles and Miller, 2003) populations have become more multi-ethnic and multi-cultural due to the increased prevalence of international migration (Vertovec, 2007). Also evolving rapidly is the age structure of Western societies as the numbers of older people within the population continues to grow (Champion, 2005, 109), due to people living longer and also due to 'well-below-replacement' rates of fertility. This latter change is linked to the overhaul in traditional family structures and household patterns, and also to increasing feminisation of the labour market (Castells, 2010, xxii). Such developments, in turn, have implications for patterns of early socialisation among children (Giddens, 2003, 63).

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These demographic changes have coincided with developments in the spatial organisation of societies. First, in many European countries, the general trend of

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counter-urbanisation, observed during the 1970s and early 1980s, has reverted to one of urbanisation (Mitchell, 2004). Second, this trend has been particularly pronounced among younger age groups, leading to increasingly polarised rural-urban population profiles (Woods, 2005, 78-83). Furthermore, these spatial changes, combined with technological advances, have led to fundamental changes in how people interact with each other. An increase in personal mobility, related to wider car ownership and better infrastructure, means that lives span ever-wider geographic areas. This, in turn, has had consequences for how people engage with a range of core services and has contributed to service-rationalisation around urban centres (Bowler, 2005, 241-2). Mobility and technology have also prompted changes to the nature of civil society. Overall, the trend is one of declining engagement in civic life and in informal, localised social interaction, and towards thinner, more formal, and more individualistic forms of engagement (Putnam, 2002). At the same time, the spread of information communication technology (ICT) has prompted the development of novel forms of social interaction in which geographic location is less of a determining factor (Castells, 2010, xxix).

Given their effects on several of the factors traditionally emphasised as determinants of linguistic vitality, each of these changes holds significance for minority languages revitalisation. Therefore, one would expect to see reflection on the implications of such changes to feature when designing contemporary language revitalisation efforts. For example, given the traditional emphasis on the family as the key social domain for intergenerational transmission of a language (Fishman, 1991; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Baker, 2011), one would expect reflection on the implications of changes in how families organise domestic affairs and care for children. Similarly, given the stress on the need to maintain territorial areas with a high density of language speakers (Tsunoda, 2005), one would expect some reflection on the implications of contemporary migration and the associated rise in ethnic diversity. Finally, given the importance attributed to informal, local (and often rural), neighbourhood networks in promoting stable patterns of language use (Baker, 2011; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Fishman, 1991; Nettle and Romaine, 2000), one would expect to see some reflection on the implications of trends such as urbanisation, suburbanisation and changes in patterns of social interaction linked to mobility and ICT.

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3.2 Economic transformation

Underpinning the socio-demographic trends discussed above is a set of economic transformations. First, recent decades have witnessed changes in the structure of Western economies, away from traditional arrangements, based on industrial production, towards information and knowledge underpinning economic activity (Giddens, 2003, 54). As a result, employment is increasingly dominated by professional, administrative and managerial occupations and economic activity ceases to be focused primarily on the 'physical production and distribution of material goods' (Giddens, 2003, 378).

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These structural changes are tied to the wider process of economic globalisation that has stimulated a shift from distinct national economies towards an increasingly interconnected and interdependent global economy. Transnational corporations are considered as one of the main drivers of this change through their promotion of globalised production chains. Additionally, technological advancement has stimulated the move towards greater economic interdependence. Much of the infrastructure on which the globalised economy now depends for its day-to-day operation centres on the various developments in ICT witnessed over recent decades (Castells, 2003).

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These economic shifts also hold significance for language revitalisation efforts. Discussions often emphasise the need for minority languages to possess a measure of economic value, for example through their use in certain contexts as a language of work (Baker, 2011; Spolsky, 2004, 215). On this basis, one would expect the implications of current economic changes to feature when designing contemporary language revitalisation efforts. For example, consideration could be given to whether the challenge of ensuring an economic foothold for minority languages has been made easier or more difficult.

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3.3 Political transformation

No less significant are the far-reaching political changes associated with 'state transformation' (Sørensen, 2004), which has given rise to debates regarding the future of the state as the central locus for political activity. In this context, the emergence of

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'new governance' is seen as significant. It is claimed that socio-economic regulation and coordination is no longer based on hierarchical state structures, but rather has broadened to encompass a range of complex networks. These include various appointed arms-length bodies, private corporations and civil society organisations (Rhodes, 1997). The implications for public policy are that, 'governments do not simply take decisions and then enforce them with state power', but now spend time 'negotiating with other organizations, non-governmental and governmental, in order to knit together agreed courses of action' (Colebatch, 2004, 78). In addition, the traditional model of state authority has been transformed with the emergence of 'multi-level governance' and the diffusion of political power to other territorial levels – up to supranational and international bodies and down to sub-state regional and national units (Schakel *et al*, 2015).

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Again, such political transformations are significant for minority language revitalisation. Discussions typically emphasise the nature of 'the government's language policy' (Tsunoda, 2005, 54), and the need for policies to promote and support the continued acquisition and use of the target language (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Spolsky, 2004). Yet, given this, one would expect language revitalisation policy programmes to reflect on the relevance of the emerging 'new governance' and to consider the extent to which modern state structures still possess the capacity to act as the central locus of successful language revitalisation efforts.

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4. Research context and methodology

The remainder of this article explores the two research hypotheses outlined in the introduction that were derived from a review of the literatures discussed in the preceding sections. First, we posit that the factors emphasised in the literature on language revitalisation as determinants of linguistic vitality will also be evident in the language revitalisation policy programmes of European sub-state governments. We therefore expect to see the factors outlined in section two - demographic, sociolinguistic, political-institutional, socio-economic, psychological and linguistic - featuring in the documentation. Secondly, if the policy programmes refer, as expected, to these determinants of linguistic vitality, we posit that they will also include

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discussion of the implications of some of the major social, economic and political changes discussed in section three. As established, many of the factors traditionally viewed as contributing to a language community's level of vitality are directly affected by current changes in how people live their lives. This, compounded by the acknowledged link between language shift and instances of macro social change, creates the expectation, that the implications of such changes will influence how sub-state governments design their language revitalisation efforts.

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The two hypotheses are examined by focusing in detail on the language revitalisation policy programmes of two UK case studies: Welsh in Wales and Gaelic in Scotland. These cases have been selected on the basis of most similar systems design. At first glance, this may not appear a natural choice. Today, Welsh finds itself in a much more prosperous position than Gaelic: the 2011 UK census reported that Welsh is spoken by 562,00 individuals (aged 3 and over), 19% of Wales' population (Office of National Statistics, 2016), while the equivalent figure for Scottish Gaelic was 58,000 speakers, 1.1% of Scotland's population (National Records of Scotland, 2016). Also, in contrast to Welsh in Wales, the traditional view is that Gaelic has not been regarded as a particularly prominent feature of Scottish national identity (McLeod, 2001).² Furthermore, in terms of language revitalisation, the activist-led campaigns and public policy interventions seen since the 1960s have tended to be more prominent and far-reaching in the Welsh case.

Deleted: Both Welsh and Scottish Gaelic are Celtic languages, and in both cases language shift has occurred as the influence of English has increased. Whilst the exact nature of this process has differed in each case, there have also been important similarities (McLeod, 2015, 92). Today they represent the two main regional minority languages spoken in the UK, with Welsh the most prosperous of the two: the 2011 UK census reported that the language is spoken by 562,00 individuals (aged 3 and over), 19% of the population of Wales (Office of National Statistics, 2016), while the equivalent figure for Scottish Gaelic was 58,000 speakers, 1.1% of Scotland's population (National Records of Scotland, 2016).¶

Despite such differences, key factors justify studying Welsh and Gaelic together within a similar systems approach. Both are Celtic languages, and in each case language shift has occurred as the influence of English has increased. On the issue of national identity, recent evidence suggests that Gaelic is increasingly viewed as 'important to the heritage of the whole of Scotland' and treated as symbol of Scottish distinctiveness (Paterson *et al*, 2014: 446-7). Also, while revitalisation efforts since the 1960s have arguably been more prominent and far reaching in Wales, important developments for Gaelic took place during this period, particularly in the fields of education and broadcasting (Paterson *et al*, 2014: 430). Furthermore, importantly, in both cases the introduction of devolution in 1999 has led to a 'step-change' in efforts to promote the

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regional languages as activist-led efforts have been increasingly bolstered by proactive policy intervention by sub-state governments. Indeed, despite differences in levels of constitutional autonomy, as devolved regions within the same state similarities in political culture have led to policy emulation and convergence. For example, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 established a statutory language planning agency, Bòrd na Gàidhlig, and created a framework for Scottish public bodies to create Gaelic language plans. Such arrangements were modelled on the infrastructure that existed in Wales prior to 2012 (Dunbar, 2007), when the Welsh Language Board operated with similar functions to the Scottish Bòrd, and administered a similar system of language plans across the public sector. In Wales, additional steps taken post-devolution include passing the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, which accorded the language official status for the first time (Williams, 2015).

A further important feature common to both cases is that the respective sub-state governments have published national language strategies that set key targets and define priority areas for intervention. In Scotland, the national plan for Gaelic, *Growth and Improvement*, was published in 2012 (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012), while in Wales *Iaith Pawb* appeared in 2003 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003), followed in 2012 by *A Living Language: A Language for Living* (Welsh Government, 2012). The Gaelic language strategy was prepared by Bòrd na Gàidhlig officials, as stipulated by the Gaelic Language Act 2005, while the two Welsh language strategies were prepared by Welsh Government civil servants, with significant input by staff from the Welsh Language Board. In both cases, these national strategies represent central planks in language revitalisation efforts. As medium term policy documents they provide an overarching framework for all other policy documents and initiatives relating to the promotion of Gaelic and Welsh. Consequently, they guide funding allocations and shape other policy actors and stakeholders' activities. Yet, the significance of the documents also stems from the process leading to their preparation. In each case, the final strategy was preceded by extensive public consultation that enabled legislatures, language policy communities and other stakeholders to influence their content.

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Given their centrality, these three national language strategies were appropriate sources to assess whether language revitalisation policy programmes in Scotland and Wales have given consideration to the implications of important forms of contemporary social change. In terms of methodology, the documents were examined using interpretive content analysis methods. Following Holsti (1969, 14), content analysis is understood as a technique for drawing inferences by 'systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.' Therefore, content analysis is not viewed as a technique solely concerned with (quantitative) analysis of 'manifest content'; rather it also allows for analysis of more 'latent content' – 'meanings that lie beneath the superficial indicators of content' (Bryman, 2012, 290). Consequently, content analysis is not limited to counting key words or phrases; it can also encompass identifying themes, ideas or dispositions within a text. This strong interpretative element made it an appropriate method for this study.

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During the analysis, the three strategy documents were read closely in order to identify sections of text that included content relevant to the main concerns of the article: (i) content reflecting on factors that influence the language's level of vitality; and (ii) content demonstrating an awareness of the linguistic implications of different forms of contemporary social change. Identified sections were then divided into 'quasi-sentences' - individual sections of texts (i.e. parts of sentences) that are the verbal expression of a single theme or idea (Chaney, 2014). Dividing the text in this manner controlled for long sentences containing multiple relevant themes or arguments. For example, the following sentence contained references to various factors relevant to linguistic vitality;

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'Aim: increase in the use and visibility of the Welsh language in all aspects of everyday life, including *work*, *leisure* and *social activities*' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003, 11, emphasis added).

Subsequently, each quasi-sentence was classified using two deductive coding manuals that were developed based on an extensive review of the relevant literatures discussed in sections two and three: a first listing factors relevant to an assessment of language vitality and a second listing the main examples of contemporary social change (see

Appendix A and B). Data gathered through the coding, was logged for analysis on distinct coding schedules. In order to increase the reliability of the data, the coding was undertaken separately by both authors, with divergent views on coding resolved by discussion. The final data set that emerged included 1,860 quasi-sentences: 1,762 referring to different linguistic vitality factors and 98 to instances of social change.

5. Analysis of findings

5.1 Determinants of linguistic vitality

Analysis of the data relevant to Hypothesis 1 demonstrates that the types of factors identified in the research literature on language revitalisation as key determinants of linguistic vitality were evident in the policy documentation. Numerous references are made to each type of vitality factor across the documents (Figure 1), with the most salient being political-institutional factors (36% of quasi sentences), followed by sociolinguistic factors (33%). References to socio-economic factors (3% of quasi-sentences) and linguistic factors (1%) were least salient. A broadly similar pattern emerges when the documents are compared on a country-by-country basis (Figure 2): political-institutional and sociolinguistic factors were the two most salient factors in each case (37% and 33% respectively in Wales; 34% and 35% respectively in Scotland), while linguistic and socio-economic factors were the least salient (0.5% and 5% respectively in Wales; 3% and 0% respectively in Scotland).

Please insert Figure 1 here.

Please insert Figure 2 here.

Further insight into the approach to language revitalisation in the two cases is gained by examining the data regarding different vitality factors. Analysis of the data regarding political-institutional factors illustrates which actors are posited as central to the task of implementing language revitalisation (Figure 3). In the Scottish case, the role of public sector bodies (65% of quasi-sentences) is emphasised far beyond that of any other actor:

The Bòrd will also take a lead in areas such as the preparation of national guidance on Gaelic Education (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 23).

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In the Welsh case, the role of public sector bodies is also emphasised (38%), yet with a relatively similar level of emphasis on the role of regional government (33%):

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The Assembly Government is committed to taking the lead in working to support and promote the Welsh language ... we will do all we can to create the right conditions in which the Welsh language can grow and flourish (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003: 2).

This difference can be explained, at least in part, by the different language policy structures within each case. As explained earlier, in Scotland the regional government has effectively sub-contracted the task of developing its language revitalisation strategy to Bòrd na Gàidhlig. In Wales, while a similar arms-length public body – the Welsh Language Board – was in existence until 2012, the Welsh Government has also played an active role in language policy development, evidenced by the strategy documents being written by civil servants. One would therefore expect the role of regional government to feature more prominently in the Welsh documentation.

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Arguably more significant for the data on political-institutional factors is the tendency in both cases to prioritise the contribution of public/governmental institutions over non-official bodies, such as civil society and third sector organisations (5.2% and 7.3% respectively in the Welsh case; 7.2% and 3.9% respectively in the Scottish case).

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Such a tendency is to be expected to some extent in official documents, given that they have been authored by public officials. Nevertheless, the lack of recognition accorded to the potential contribution of non-official actors is striking. The ministerial foreword for each document emphasise the idea that language revitalisation needs to be viewed as general 'national' endeavours:

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... individuals, communities and authorities all have key roles to play (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 5)

... the future development and survival of the language depends on the commitment of the people of Wales, and must be owned by all of us (Welsh Government, 2012, 2)

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However, the data suggests that this vision does not extend throughout the documents, and indicates that more attention could be given to differentiating between those aspects of language revitalisation that can and should be pursued by official bodies and those that are better placed in the hands of other social actors.

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The data relating to demographic factors (Figure 4) illustrates a difference in policy emphasis between the two cases, possibly stemming from differences in demolinguistic context. In both cases, the age profile of speakers emerges as the most salient demographic factor (35% of quasi-sentences for Scotland, compared with 30% for Wales). Yet, the Scottish documentation places a greater emphasis on the absolute number of speakers (24% of relevant quasi-sentences, compared with 7% for Wales), with the Welsh documentation placing more stress on proportions of speakers (12% of relevant quasi-sentences, compared with 3% for Scotland):

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Bòrd na Gàidhlig is clear that the focus ... must be on increasing the numbers of speakers of Gaelic (2012, 6).

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The state of the language in communities where it was spoken by over 70% of the local population aged 3 years and over in 1991 is worthy of particular attention (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003, 5).

The contrasting emphasis reflects differences in the demolinguistic situation of both languages. The weaker demolinguistic position of Gaelic means that the size of its speaker-base as a proportion of the population is unlikely to be as relevant to the language's level of vitality as the absolute numbers of speakers. In contrast, the comparatively healthier demolinguistic condition of the Welsh language means that combining references to the absolute numbers of speakers with references to those speakers as a proportion of the population may carry more weight when assessing its overall level of vitality.

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Differences between the two cases are also illustrated by the sociolinguistic factors data (Figure 5). In both cases, education is viewed as the most important domain for language use, though this is more pronounced in Scotland (41% of quasi-sentences, compared with 28% for Wales):

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Gaelic language learning at all levels is vital for the future of Gaelic in Scotland. Both Gaelic-medium education and Gaelic-learner education have the potential to create new Gaelic speakers (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 22).

The education system is the main way for ensuring that children are able to develop their Welsh skills (Welsh Government 2012, 7).

Yet, the Welsh documents place a greater emphasis on language use within social or informal domains (10% of quasi-sentences, compared with 3% for Scotland) and on language use in online and digital media contexts (11% of relevant quasi-sentences, compared with 2% for Scotland):

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The Assembly Government will work to ensure that we maximise the opportunities for our young people to use the language in everyday leisure and social situations (WAG, 2003, 48).

Over the next five years we want to see ... strong representation of the Welsh language throughout the digital media (Welsh Government, 2012, 14).

Such differences reflect the demolinguistic and sociolinguistic challenges faced in each case. In Scotland, the low speaker-base, coupled with the weak position of Gaelic as a family and community language, has led to prioritising efforts to address the paucity of opportunities to create 'new speakers' through the education system (O'Hanlon *et al*, 2012). In Wales, the increases in the numbers of Welsh-speakers among younger age cohorts reported in recent censuses (Jones, 2008) has led public and policy discussions to place a greater emphasis on the need to bridge out from the world of Welsh-medium education to promote greater social use of the language (Hodges *et al*, 2015).

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In summary, the forgoing analysis supports Hypothesis 1 and demonstrates that the factors identified in policy documentation as determinants of linguistic vitality reflect the academic literature on language revitalisation. The analysis also illustrates a tendency for some variation in emphasis owing to the particular political-institutional, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts of policy development. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the similarity in the emphasis and in the ordering of the general vitality factors (Figure 2), suggests a degree of convergence in language revitalisation approaches post-devolution. Decentralised government has boosted the political impetus to support both Gaelic and Welsh, thus creating a context in which legislative and policy initiatives are introduced to increase their status and institutionalisation.

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5.2 Level of reflection on the implications of social transformation

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The expectation stipulated in the Introduction was that if there was adequate support for Hypothesis 1, there would also be support for Hypothesis 2: evidence of recognition of the implications of social change for language revitalisation programmes. However, the analysis demonstrates limited reflection, both in the Welsh and Scottish documents, on the implications of the major social changes currently being witnessed across Western societies.

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References relevant to the three general categories of change coded - socio-demographic, economic and political change - were found across the documents, though the distribution was heavily weighted towards the category of socio-demographic change (Figure 6). Furthermore, within this category, the sub-category of 'increased use of information and communication technology (ICT)' emerges, by some distance, as the most salient, (36% of relevant quasi-sentences; Figure 7). Engagement with other forms of change relevant to language revitalisation, such as 'urbanisation' (15%), 'population movement' (15%) and 'the emergence of virtual social networks' (12%), trail a long way behind, while engagement with themes such as 'increase in formal/organised forms of social interaction', 'decline in informal forms of social interaction' is very limited across the documentation.

Please insert Figure 6 and 7 here.

In order to compare the two cases, and control for the overall analysis including two documents from Wales and only one from Scotland, the analysis focused on those published in 2012. On this basis, the level of engagement with the implications of contemporary social change is far greater in the Welsh context (Table 1 and Figure 8). Out of a total of 58 relevant quasi-sentences, 43 derive from *A Living Language: A Language for Living* (Welsh Government, 2012), while only 15 derive from *Growth and Improvement* (Scottish Government, 2012). This difference can largely be explained by the level of engagement in the Welsh document with the sub-category of ‘increased use of ICT’ (16 of 43 quasi-sentences):

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In the twenty-first century, the existence of Welsh-language digital media content and applications not only allows the Welsh language to flourish, but also enables Welsh speakers to participate fully as digital citizens (Welsh Government, 2012, 45).

In contrast, there are only sparse references to the same issue in the Scottish document (2 relevant quasi-sentences):

MG ALBA and BBC ALBA have a role to play in making Gaelic audible and visible to large sections of the population, in... ensuring the media supports Gaelic learning *and virtual communication via new technologies* (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 39 emphasis added)

The documents clearly present a positive view of the potential of ICT to support language revitalisation, despite the ways in which it could be viewed as exacerbating challenges faced by minority language communities, both owing to the speed of developments in certain sectors and the tendency for English to be viewed as the ‘de facto lingua franca of the online world.’ (Cunliffe, 2007, 138). The greater emphasis on ICT in the Welsh case may reflect the broader range of language promotion activities undertaken, in contrast to the more focused Scottish approach. This, in turn, can be explained by the growing recognition in the Welsh context that language revitalisation efforts call for a balance between educational measures and steps aimed at normalising language use in other domains, particularly in the social and leisure contexts of day-to-day life.

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Please insert Table 1 and Figure 8 here.

In examining the Welsh documentation, over time, by comparing the documents published in 2003 and 2012, the greater engagement with ‘increased use of ICT’ compared to other forms of social change continues (Figure 9). Overall, beyond the case of ICT there is only limited engagement with the implications of different forms of social change. Strikingly, there is no clear pattern towards increased engagement with social change over time. Rather, with sub-categories such as ‘inward migration’, ‘outward migration’, ‘urbanisation’, there is a marked decrease in emphasis between 2003 and 2012. One possible explanation for the greater salience of these particular factors in the 2003 document is the highly charged nature of the language debate in Wales during the 2001-2003 period. It centred on the impact of inward migration to predominantly Welsh-speaking areas and the out-migration of young Welsh-speakers to urban areas, particularly Cardiff. The debate encompassed the main political parties as well as key language movements (Royles, 2007) and ensured that the implications of population movement were discussed in the 2003 strategy document. By 2012, while statistical evidence demonstrated that inward- and outward-migration continued to impact on the Welsh language (Jones, 2012), their profile as part of the language policy debate had receded, and consequently such issues were accorded less attention in the 2012 language strategy.

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Despite the overall perception created by the data that Welsh language strategies accord greater recognition to the implications of current social changes, in some specific instances the nature of the discussion in the Scottish document suggests a more detailed consideration of the implications of some of these changes for language revitalisation (Table 2). In particular, this relates to the level of reflection in the documents on the linguistic implications of changes witnessed in patterns of social interaction. Such changes were coded through sub-categories such as ‘increase in organised forms of social interaction’ and ‘emergence of virtual social networks’. Five quasi-sentences are recorded in each of these sub-categories in the Scottish document, for example:

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The National Gaelic language Plan will deliver ... more opportunities for communities and *networks of Gaelic speakers* of all kinds' (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 8, emphasis added).

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¶ Other networks of Gaelic speakers, which might include parents at a Gaelic educational establishment ... and active participants in online Gaelic communities, will be supported (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2012, 30). ¶

There were similar examples in the Welsh document:

More and more communication happens electronically and remotely, reducing the extent to which the concept of 'place' is key, and increasing the role of communities of interest (Welsh Government, 2012, 35).

However, the more wide-ranging attention afforded in the Scottish document indicates a stronger awareness of the more 'networked' model of social interaction and the implications of such trends for language policy. Whilst also displaying some recognition of these trends, the Welsh documents rely on a more static and territorially-based understanding of 'community'. It could be suggested that this exemplifies the challenge of balancing between emphasising the importance of traditional 'heartland' communities with recognition of the increasingly diverse range Welsh language community settings currently emerging, evidenced by the tension between the two following statements:

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The decline of Welsh-speaking communities is a cause of concern for the Assembly Government ... a social and economic future for Welsh-speaking communities equates to a viable future for the Welsh language (2003, 21).

... it would be wrong to imply that the future of the Welsh language is an issue confined to four or five counties in the north and west. There are significant numbers of Welsh speakers in areas of Wales outside the "heartland" (2003, 4).

Please insert Table 2 here.

In summary, the data points to a mixed situation with regard to Hypothesis 2. The policy documentation includes some reflection on the potential linguistic implications of certain forms of contemporary social change. However, the vast majority of this reflection centres on the very specific sub-category of 'increased use of ICT'. Beyond this, the level of engagement with the implications of other forms of contemporary social changes is limited. Moreover, this conclusion holds when

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comparing between different language policy settings, and also when comparing over time within the same setting.

Explaining this finding in detail is difficult at this stage. It is a surprising finding given the types of factors identified in the documents as influencing linguistic vitality, and given that many of these factors are impacted by current patterns of social change. On this basis, a greater level of reflection on how social change may influence how language revitalisation is to be pursued was expected. The finding is also significant as it points, on the one hand, to the challenge that language revitalisation policy faces in ensuring awareness of the nature of globalisation and associated macro social change, and on the other hand, to the possibility that such cognisance may currently be lacking. Furthermore, it raises the possibility that language policy may have been less successful than other, more established, public policy fields in integrating reflection on the implications of social change into policy development.

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On this basis, further research is required. First, further examination of language revitalisation policy programmes in other locations such as Catalonia and the Basque Country could establish whether the findings identified here with regards to Wales and Scotland represent a broader trend. Second, further examination of the academic literature on language revitalisation would determine whether the weakness identified here within the policy documentation reflects a broader weakness which characterises the field more generally (see also Edwards, 2007). Third, an examination of how and to what extent policy makers in other fields of public policy engage with the implications of contemporary social change could better contextualise the weaknesses identified here with regards to language policy.

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6. Conclusion

This article set out to address the disparity between the lack of political science research focusing on language policy as a distinct field of public policy, and the growing political salience of language policy decisions taken by governments. It has sought to promote a political science approach to analysing language policy, and has done so by drawing on interpretive content analysis methods in order to examine the main policy

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documents guiding the language revitalisation efforts of sub-state governments in the UK.

The investigation established that in the Scottish and Welsh cases, the factors emphasised as being key determinants of linguistic vitality mirror many of the factors identified in the research literature on language revitalisation. The analysis also highlighted some variation in the emphasis placed on certain vitality factors, owing to the particular political-institutional, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts of policy development. Yet, despite these differences, the analysis pointed to a degree of convergence in language revitalisation approaches post-devolution.

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Of greater importance is the fact that the investigation also established that in the case of these two UK cases, current policy programmes reflect only a limited level of engagement with the implications of different forms of contemporary social change. This is the case despite the fact that a number of these changes seem to impact on a series of assumptions that have traditionally shaped how the issue of language revitalisation is discussed. Indeed, this finding represents the article's main empirical contribution, as it highlights the challenge facing the field of language revitalisation in ensuring sophisticated cognisance of the nature of globalisation and related aspects of macro social change.

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The article also points to some of the consequences that may stem from the tendency, to date, to not recognise language policy as a distinct area of public policy in its own right. Its broader significance therefore is to demonstrate that language policy can be both conceived and analysed as public policy and, in so doing, highlight the opportunities for further research in this area by public policy scholars.

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Acknowledgement: The authors would like to acknowledge the helpful and constructive comments of three anonymous referees.

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¹ Over the past decade scholars in the field of political theory have also discussed notions such as language rights, language equality and linguistic justice (for a recent overview, see Léger and Lewis, 2016). Yet, this work focuses on the ethical implications of language policy choices and does not feature detailed examination of the politics surrounding those choices.

² In contrast to Gaelic, there is consensus that the Welsh language has, over the centuries, acted as an important marker of Welsh distinctiveness. Yet, it should be noted that relatively little is known today regarding the exact role of language, compared to other important factors, such as religion, social class or location. Moreover, little is known about whether the significance of language has altered as Welsh distinctiveness has been given an increasing institutional expression, particularly though the evolution of devolution. This partly reflects the historic neglect of the study of politics in Wales. It is also indicative of the more general neglect of the study of national identities within political science in the UK (Scully, no date).

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Appendix A: Coding Manual: Linguistic Vitality

1: Demographic Factors:

- 101: Absolute numbers of speakers
- 102: Speakers of the language as proportion of population
- 103: Density of speakers
 - 103.1 Existence of areas of high density
 - 103.2 Existence of areas of low density
- 104: Age profile of speakers
- 105: Level of intergenerational language transmission
- 106: Fertility rate among speakers of the language
- 107: Levels of endogamy/exogamy
- 108: Levels of immigration
- 109: Levels of emigration
- 110: Level of literacy /fluency / confidence of language speakers
- 111: Production of ‘new speakers’
- 112: Other

2: Sociolinguistic Factors

- 201: General (i.e. generalized statements regarding society-wide levels of language use)
- 202: Family/home
- 203: The community
- 204: Social life/leisure time
- 205: Accessing services
- 206: Education: general
- 207: Education: early years/pre-school
- 208: Education: primary
- 209: Education: secondary
- 210: Education: post-16
- 211: Education: higher/university
- 212: Workplace
- 213: Traditional media (radio / television / newspapers)
- 214: Online and digital / social media
- 215: Publishing (books, journals, magazines etc.) and the arts
- 216: Other

3: Political-Institutional Factors

- 301: Government: state
- 302: Government: regional/sub-state
- 303: Government: local
- 304: Public sector bodies
- 305: Private sector bodies
- 306: Third sector bodies
- 307: Civil society organisations

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- 308: Media organisations
 - 309: International organisations (include EU)
 - 310: General political/institutional support
 - 311: Other

4: Socio-economic Factors

- 401: Economic status of the language's speakers (material wealth/professional status/employment opportunities/level of economic activity among speakers)
- 402: Employment opportunities in high-density language areas
- 403: Socio-cultural attractiveness of life in high-density language areas
- 404: Availability of affordable housing in high-density areas

5: Psychological Factors

- 501: General status (i.e. the language's overall status)
- 502: Official status (i.e. status in official settings)
- 503: Economic status (i.e. status in economic contexts)
- 504: Socio-cultural status (i.e. social attractiveness of the language - 'coolness'!!)
- 505: Symbolic status (i.e. the degree to which the language is tied to notions of national/ethnic identity)
- 506: Attitudes: general (speakers and non-speakers)
- 507: Attitudes towards the language among its speakers
- 508: Attitudes towards the language among other members of society
- 509: Other

6: Linguistic Factors

- 701: Level of graphitization (i.e. degree to which there is a writing system)
- 702: Level of standardization (i.e. degree to which there is norm that overrides regional and social dialects)
- 703: Level of modernization (i.e. extent of the language's lexicon - terminology)
- 704: Other

Appendix B: Coding Manual: Social Transformation

1: Socio-demographic changes

- 101: Increased ethnic diversity of population
- 102: Aging of population
- 103: Declining fertility rates
- 104: Increased diversity in family structures and household patterns (single person households, unmarried couples etc.)
- 105: New modes of early socialisation among children (increased role for grandparents, use of childcare services etc.)
- 106: Population movement
 - 106.1: *Interstate* immigration (immigration from other sovereign states)
 - 106.2: *Intrastate* immigration (immigration from other parts of the state to Wales/Scotland)
 - 106.3: Outward migration
- 107: Urbanization
- 108: Counter-urbanization
- 109: Increase in personal mobility
- 110: Restructuring/centralization of key services (e.g. closure/centralization of schools, banks, post offices etc.)
- 111: Change in the nature of social interaction
 - 111.1: Decline in informal/spontaneous forms of social interaction
 - 111.2: Increase in formal/organised forms of social interaction (communities of interest)
 - 111.3: Emergence of virtual networks
 - 111.4: Decline in significance of territory or 'place'
- 112: Technological development
 - 112.1: Better/easier modes of transport
 - 112.2: Development and increased use of information and communication technology (i.e. digital tools that allow two or more people to communicate with one another - written, verbal, visual or audible communication.)
- 113: Other

2: Economic changes

- 201: Development of interdependent global economy
 - 201.1: Decline in distinct national economies
 - 201.2: Growth in size/influence of private corporations
 - 201.3: Increased movement of capital/economic resources
- 202: Privatisation of service providers
- 203: De-regulation/liberalisation of markets
- 204: Changes in occupational structure
 - 204.1: Decline in agricultural sector (as form of manual employment)
 - 204.2: Decline of manufacturing sector (as form of manual employment)
 - 204.3: Growth of professional and service sectors (as forms of knowledge-based employment)

204.3: Emergence of digital economy
205: Feminization of the workforce
206: Rural economic decline - general
207: Other

3: Political changes

301: Transfer of political power up to international level
302: Devolution of political power down to sub-state level
303: Increased role for arms-length public bodies in policy development/delivery
304: Increased role for private sector in policy development/delivery
305: Increased role for third sector in policy development/delivery
306: Increased role for civil society in policy development/delivery
307: Contraction of public expenditure
308: Other

Figure 1: Factors cited as being key determinants of linguistic vitality: all documents together

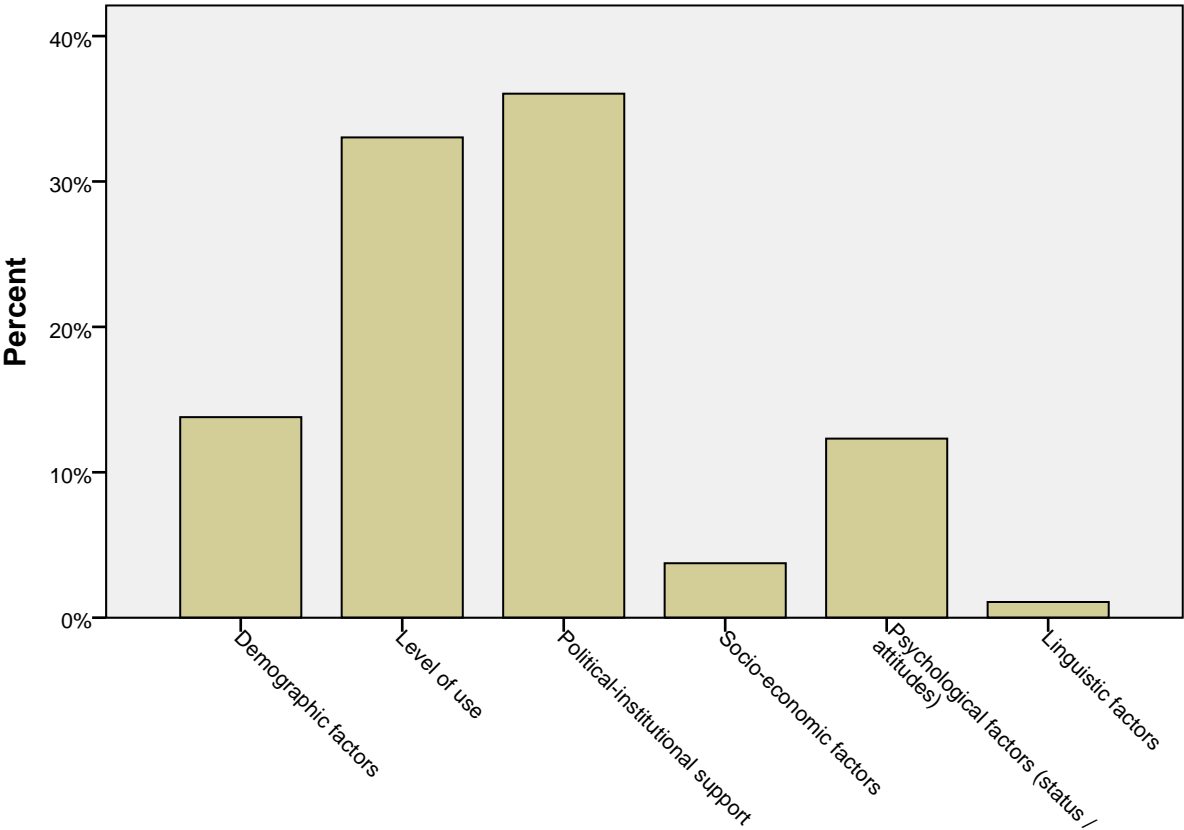


Figure 2: Factors cited as being key determinants of linguistic vitality: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

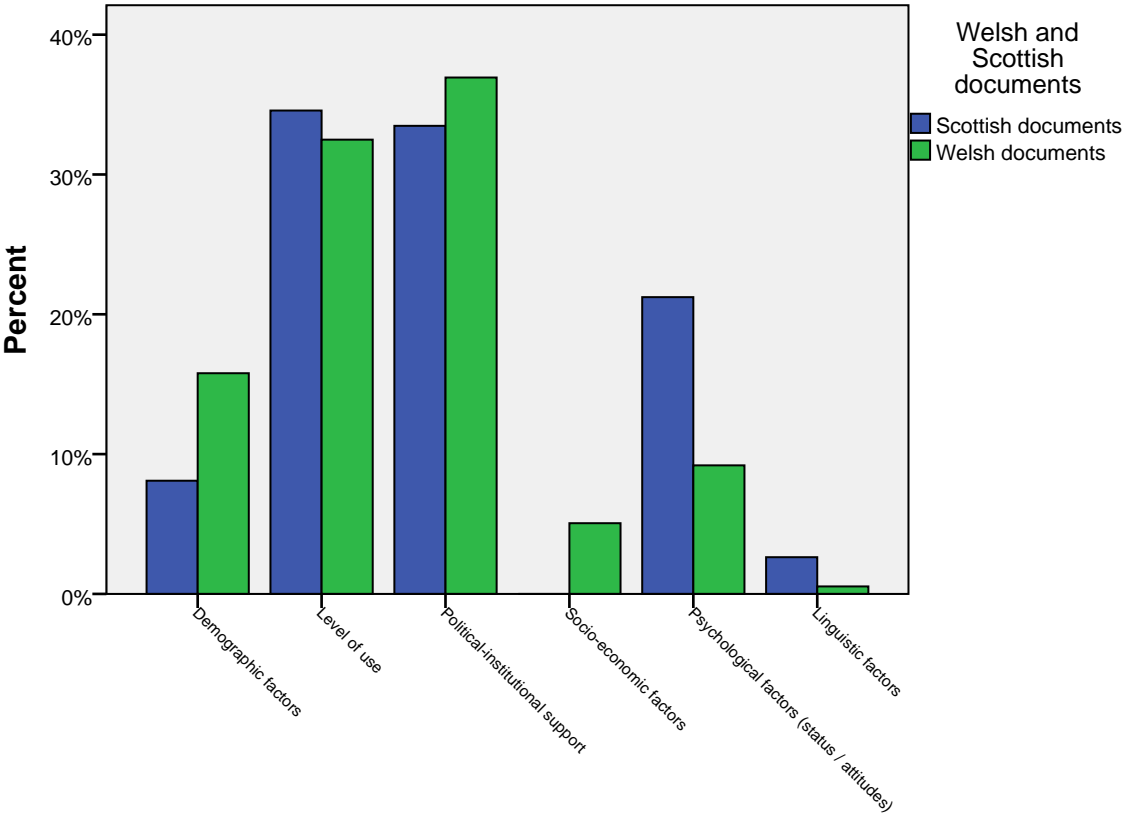


Figure 3: Breakdown of references to political-institutional factors: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

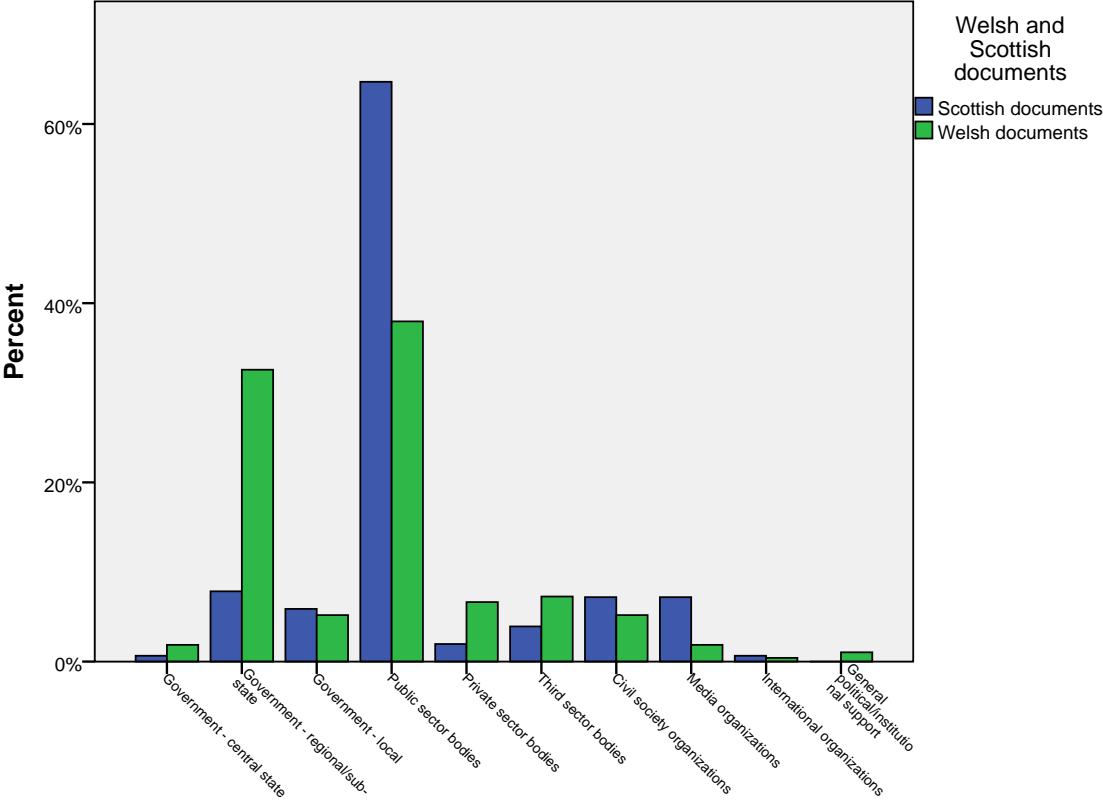


Figure 4: Breakdown of references to demographic factors: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

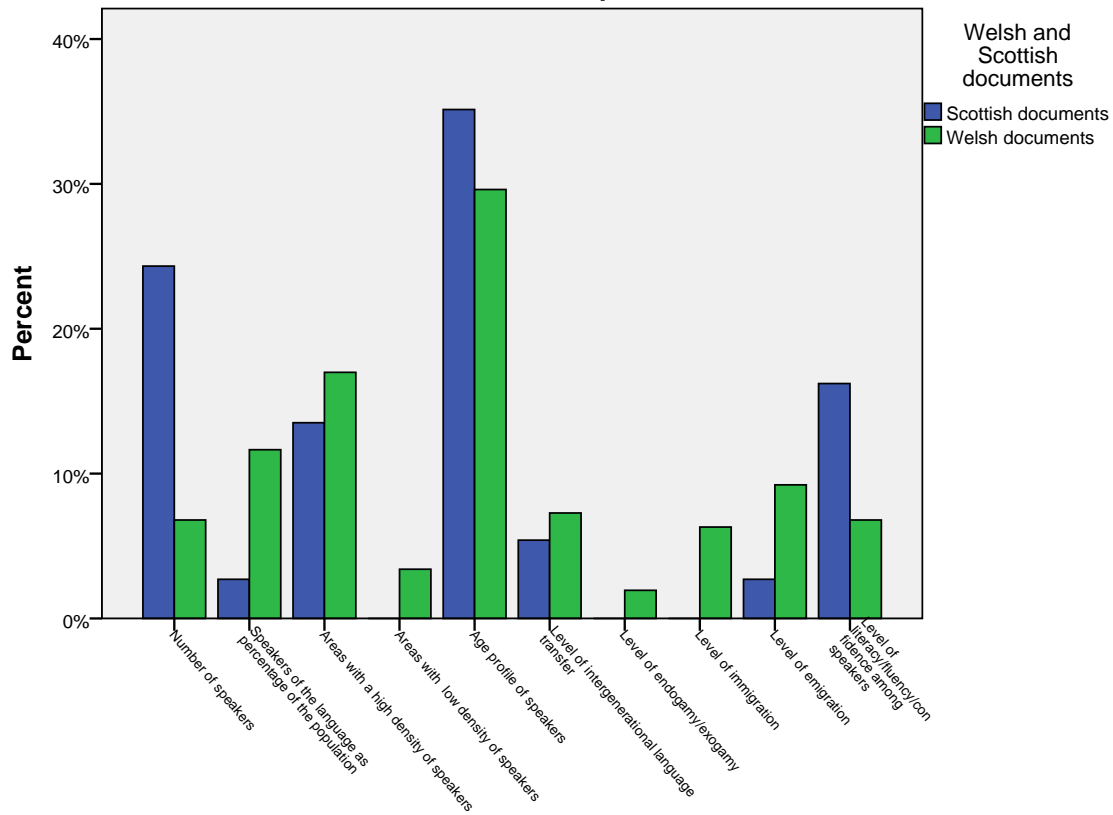


Figure 5: Breakdown of references to sociolinguistic factors: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

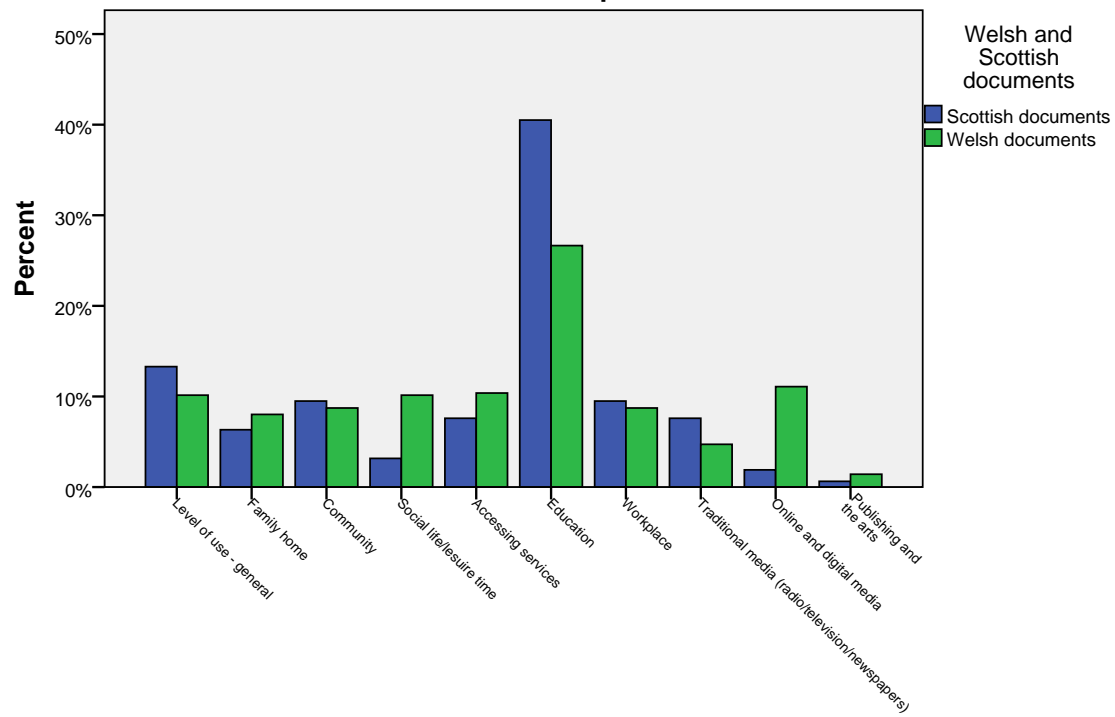


Figure 6: References to different forms of social change: all documents together

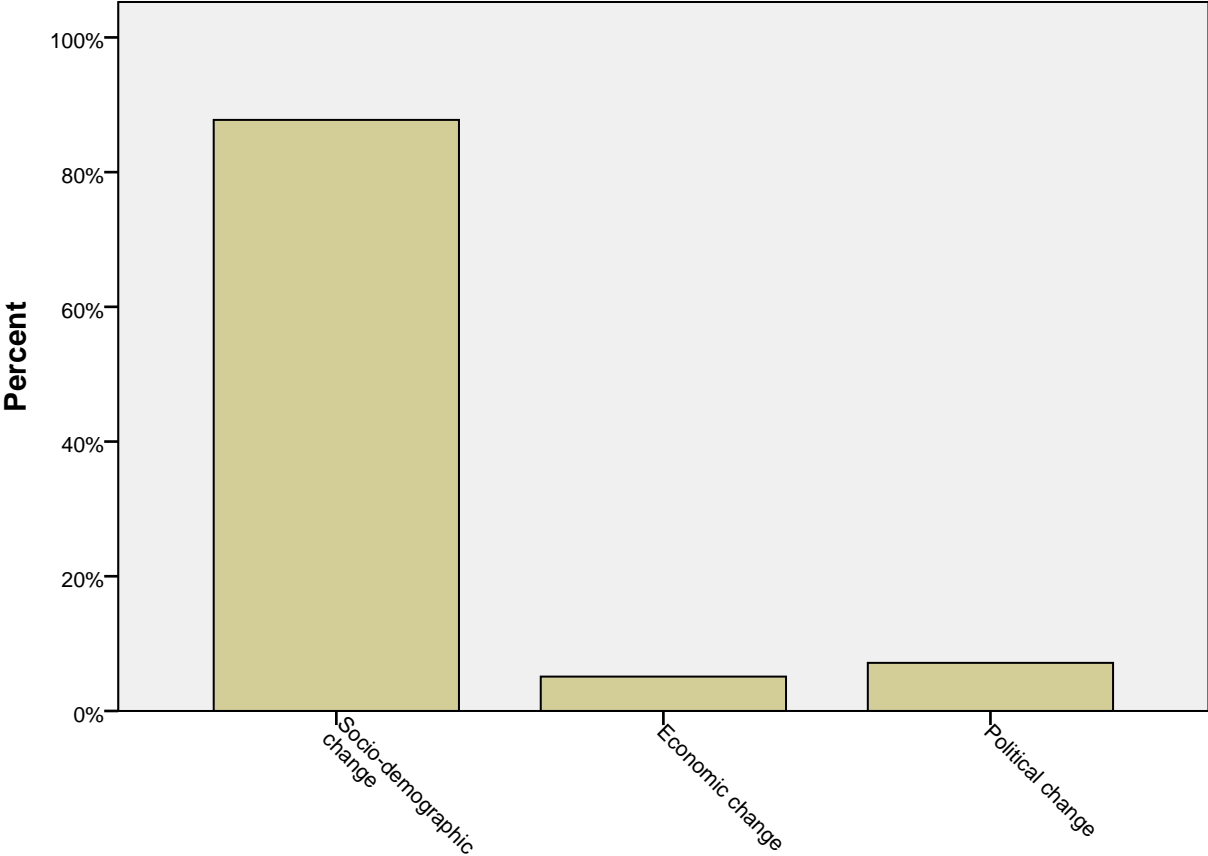


Figure 7: Breakdown of references to socio-demographic change: all documents together

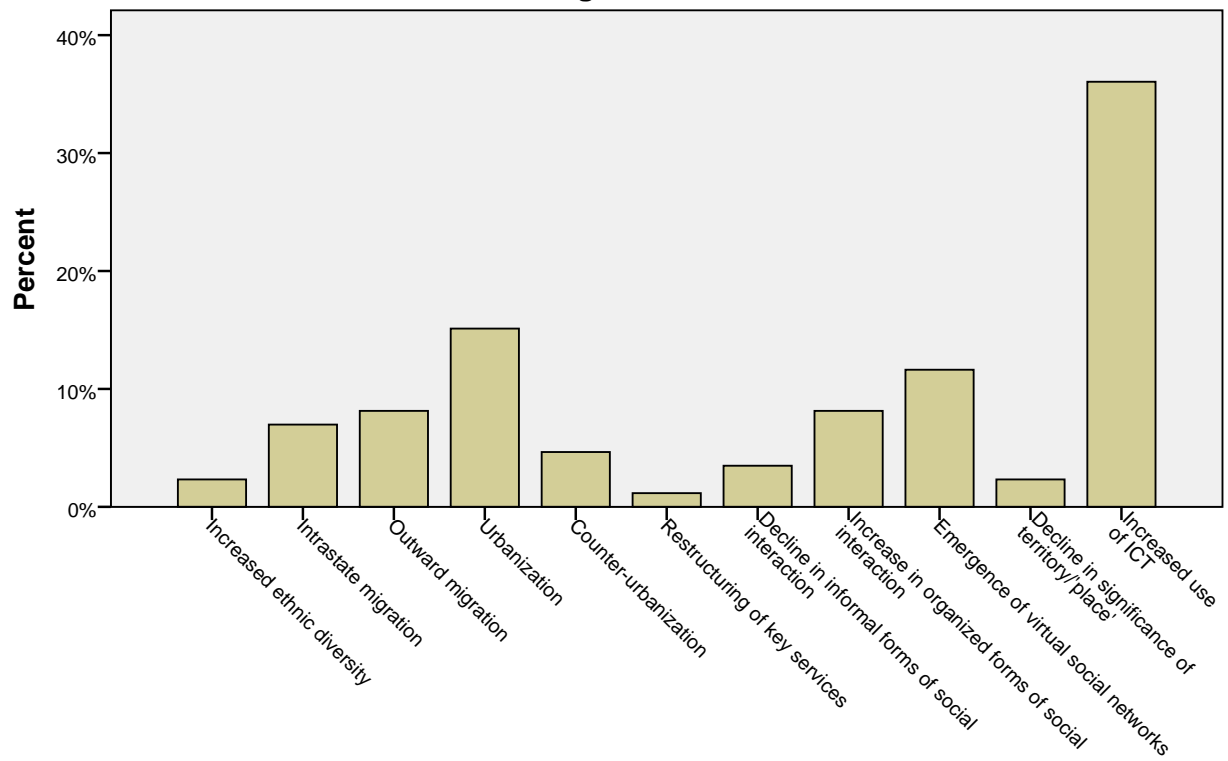


Figure 8: References to different forms of social change: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

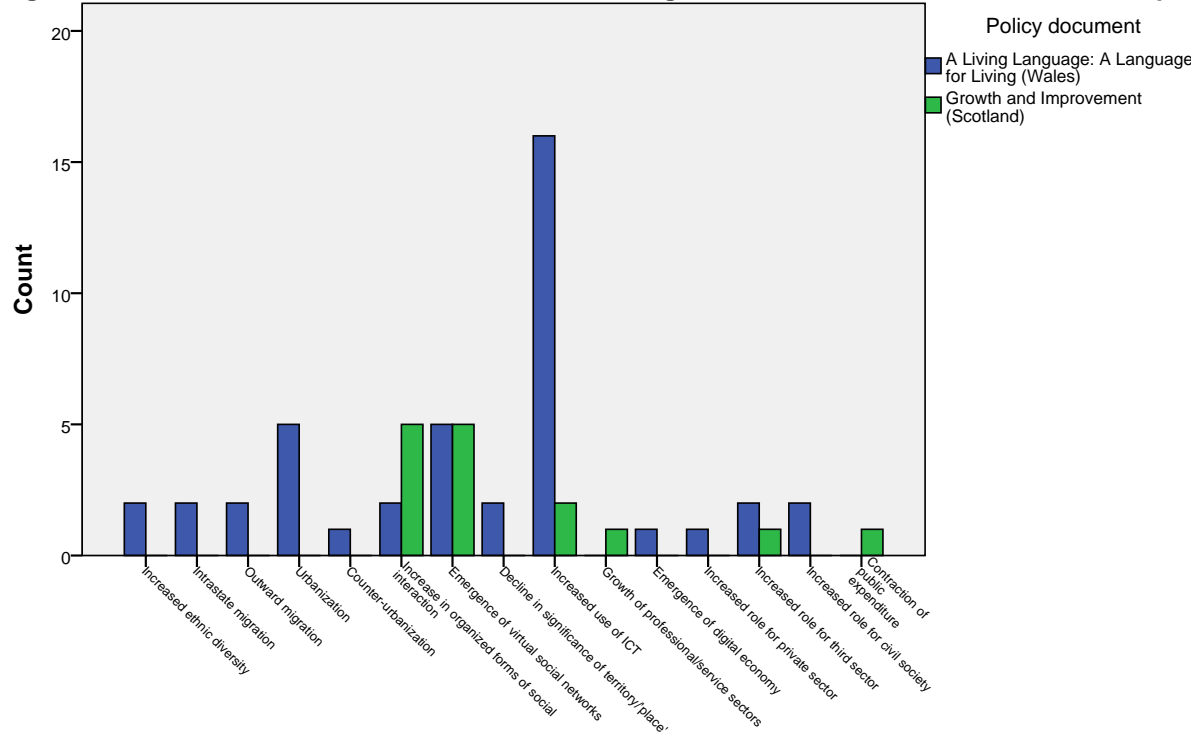
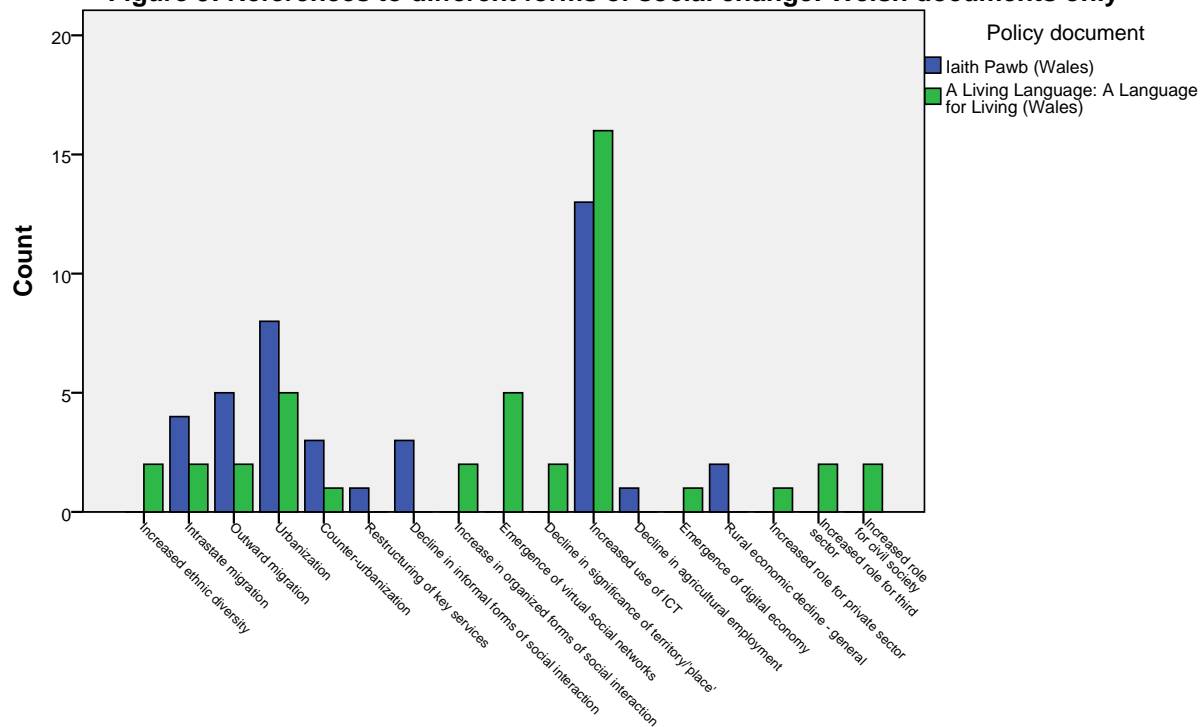


Figure 9: References to different forms of social change: Welsh documents only



Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation: Evaluating the Language Policy Frameworks of Sub-state Governments in Wales and Scotland

Table 1: Total number of references to forms of social change: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid A Living Language: A Language for Living (Wales)	43	74.1	74.1	74.1
Growth and Improvement (Scotland)	15	25.9	25.9	100.0
Total	58	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: Number of references to different forms of social change: Welsh and Scottish documents compared

		Policy document		Total
		A Living Language: A Language for Living (Wales)	Growth and Improvement (Scotland)	
Example of social change referenced in policy documents	Increased ethnic diversity	2	0	2
	Intrastate migration	2	0	2
	Outward migration	2	0	2
	Urbanization	5	0	5
	Counter-urbanization	1	0	1
	Increase in organized forms of social interaction	2	5	7
	Emergence of virtual social networks	5	5	10
	Decline in significance of territory/'place'	2	0	2
	Increased use of ICT	16	2	18
	Growth of professional/service sectors	0	1	1
	Emergence of digital economy	1	0	1
	Increased role for private sector	1	0	1
	Increased role for third sector	2	1	3
	Increased role for civil society	2	0	2
	Contraction of public expenditure	0	1	1
	Total	43	15	58

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